THE ARYAN PATH

Point out the "Way"—however dimly, and lost among the host—as does the evening star to those who tread their path in darkness.

—The Voice of the Silence

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PSYCHIC PHENOMENA

Dr. Lionel Giles, one of our earliest and highly esteemed contributors, has done significant work upon the bridge between the ancient East and the modern West at which we too are labouring. His translations of several important Chinese texts, including the golden words of Lao-Tzu, of Confucius and of Mencius, have done much to reveal the similarity of spiritual aspiration and of moral striving in ancient days and now. But not all affinities, alas, are spiritual ones. The meeting of thought and aspiration across the millenniums is paralleled at a lower level by the psychic consanguinity, which he brings out in the following article on "Wizardry in Ancient China," between archaic necromantic practices and the recrudescence of mediumship and spiritism in the modern world.

Between the credulous Emperor Wu of the second century B. C. and the expectant "sitter" at a present-day séance there seems to be as little essential difference as between the materialisation of his Lady Wang and, say, the appearance of Katie King of the Crookes investigations. Even the fact that the messages reported contained "nothing extraordinary" establishes their kinship with the overwhelming majority of "spirit communications" of the present day. Nor is physical-manifestation mediumship made a less dangerous and infectious psychic disease by imperial honours. These could not protect the poor "Marshal of Cultural Perfection" from the moral shipwreck that has overtaken so many mediums. And when, finding his powers waning, he stooped to fraud, he but met the sorry fate inflicted on how many hapless "witches" in mediæval times!

The conviction that there is nothing new under the sun may bring a sense of *ennui* to the superficial, of frustration to the reformer, of insecurity to the blind accepter of exclusive claims. But to the thoughtful man of open mind it carries reassurance and perception of the

unity of humankind, a unity that bridges the temporal distances between ancient and modern civilisations and cultures as easily it spans the seas.

Implicit in every scientific attempt at understanding the world, whether in its dense material or its superphysical aspects, is the recognition of the reign of law. There would be no point to research, physical or psychical, without the assurance that identical conditions can be counted on to produce unvarying effects, the calculability of which depends alone upon the adequacy of the control and the knowledge and skill of the investigators.

In no branch of scientific investigation, however, is freedom from preconception more essential than in psychical research and from none, surely, is it more conspicuously lacking. Credulity is bad but incredulity in the face of undeniable facts is no better. There has been a shocking waste of time and energy in the last half century in the repetition, by investigator after investigator, of experiments that would already seem conclusive.

Probably in no other field is the testimony of reputable witnesses received with greater suspicion. Conscientious investigators have their *bona fides* challenged by others of less open mind and of inadequate knowledge. The types of psychic phenomena that lend themselves at all—though never with too good a grace—to laboratory tests are relatively few, and in those fields the constant ploughing leaves no chance for crops. The prospect for the scientific recognition of phenomenal manifestations is not bright if it must wait till every interested scientist is personally satisfied of their occurrence.

"A Layman Looks at Psychical Research" in *The Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* for April. Charles E. Ozanne attempts to cut a straight path through the jungle of data on superphysical happenings which has grown up around the psychical researchers, never from the outset able to see the wood very clearly for the trees.

The evidence, he finds, makes strongly probable the existence of extra-sensory perception, telepathy, a connection between deaths and apparitions of the dying which is not due to chance alone, and phenomena of mediumship to explain which, he believes, demands accepting either spiritism or "telepathy of a very extensive sort."

It is no doubt natural that the psychological development of the race should follow the general order of development traced by unfolding individual intelligence—that the query "What?" should antedate "How?" and "Why?" But the child who remains overlong in the "What?" stage is considered subnormal. Research in the physical sciences has largely achieved the transition. Observation has long been chiefly a tool in their causal quest. But there is some ground for anxiety lest Psychical Research

the youngest of the modern sciences, may not represent a case of arrested development. In spite of professed interest in causal factors, most investigators are preoccupied with the endless amassing of facts unexplained and, we believe, unexplainable as long as the clues in ancient Eastern psychology are disregarded.

This was pointed out repeatedly by H. P. Blavatsky between 1877 and 1891, but the Psychical Researcher failed to take advantage of her advice. Even today he suffers from his lack of the understanding which her knowledge of the laws of their production can bestow, knowledge gained from masters in Asiatic psychology. Mr. Ozanne himself would gain considerably were he to lay aside his prejudice and to study with an open mind the principles of Oriental Psychology tabulated by H. P. Blavatsky in her *Isis Unveiled*.

We shall mention two of the invaluable clues which H. P. Blavatsky scattered before the Psychical Researchers. But before we offer these for consideration, we should like to quote a short passage written by H. P. Blavatsky in 1888 :—

> It is on the doctrine of the illusive nature of matter, and the infinite divisibility of the atom, that the whole science of Occultism is built. It opens limitless horizons to *substance* informed by the divine breath of its soul in every possible state of tenuity, states still undreamt of by the most spiritually disposed chemists and physicists.
>
> (*The Secret Doctrine*, I. 520)

Let the reader remember how far the orthodox science of that day was from recognising either the illusive nature of matter or the divisibility of the atom, both scientific commonplaces now. Then let him ask himself whether other suggestions from the same source are not entitled to respectful hearing and whether it may not be worth the investigators' while to follow them up even at this late day instead of continuing to ignore them, or rejecting them out of hand.

The following are the clues we mentioned, the acceptance of which, as working hypotheses, along with the existence of a supersensuous medium through which thought is transmitted, would set the feet of investigators both of telepathy and of séance-room phenomena on the road to results which have so far eluded them :—

> The whole issue of the quarrel between the profane and the esoteric sciences depends upon the belief in, and demonstration of, the existence of an astral body within the physical, the former independent of the latter.
>
> (*The Secret Doctrine*, II. 149)

> When two minds are sympathetically related, and the instruments through which they function are tuned to respond magnetically and electrically to one another, there is nothing which will prevent the transmission of thoughts from one to the other, at will.
>
> (*The Key to Theosophy*, p. 243)

WIZARDRY IN ANCIENT CHINA

An utterance of Confucius which has received less attention than it deserves records his opinion of a class of professional wizards called *wu*: "The people of the south have a saying: 'A man without constancy will make neither a *wu* nor a physician.'—This is well said." *Wu* is usually translated "sorcerer" or "magician" or, if stress is to be laid on his dealings with the spirit-world, "necromancer"; but here the fact of his being coupled with a physician points rather to an exorcist who drives out the demons of disease; and in other places, for reasons that will appear, one might perhaps go so far as to use the word "medium." In any case, it is remarkable that Confucius, a confessed agnostic in regard to the supernatural, should so emphatically have endorsed this favourable judgment; and it may repay us to consider a little more closely the particular functions and status of the *wu* in those early ages.

First of all, it should be noted that the term is frequently applied to witches as well as to wizards, and it is not always possible to tell from the context which of the two are meant. Their magical powers did not excite the deep-seated fear and distrust that were so universally felt in Christian Europe and they were regularly employed as servants of the State. According to the Book of Rites,

when a ruler attends the funeral ceremonies after the death of a minister, he takes with him a sorcerer (*wu*) and an officer of invocation (*chu*) with a peach-wand and a reed-broom, besides a lance-bearer to protect him from maleficent spirits.

Peach-wood was believed to be especially potent in keeping evil influences at bay, and we know that human images of that material used to be set up by district magistrates at the gates of their official quarters. The purpose of the broom was obviously to sweep away troublesome spirits, and recalls the association of broomsticks with witches in the West. The *chu* were also wizards of a sort: their function, we are told, was "to make announcements to the spirits, whereas the *wu* were the means by which the spirits were enabled to come down."

From the Chou Ritual we learn that

when the country is afflicted by severe drought, the sorcerers are led forth to perform a ritual dance and pray for rain; when the State suffers a great calamity, they perform the rites consecrated by long usage; in all funeral ceremonies they are employed to call down the spirits of the dead.

For, as a commentator reminds us, "when a man dies, his flesh and bones sink into the earth, but the spiritual part of him reverts to its original abode in the heavens." In the spring-time, again, they invoke the blessing of spiritual beings in order to ward off sickness.

Although not systematically persecuted, it appears that the wizards

and witches of China had to run certain risks in the exercise of their calling. Witness the following incident recounted in the Book of Rites:

In a season of drought the Prince of Lu hit on the expedient of exposing to the burning rays of the sun an unfortunate creature in the last stage of emaciation, in order to excite thereby the compassion of Heaven. Dissuaded from this on the ground of cruelty, he then suggested the exposure of a witch instead. But his counsellor replied: "To expose a poor silly woman to the glare of Heaven because it denies us rain would surely be a most unsuitable way of obtaining your wish." The early historical work *Tso Chuan*, which seems to be the source of this story, gives a slightly different version, according to which the victim was to be actually burnt alive. But it was sensibly pointed out that, even if witches could really produce drought, to burn them would only increase the calamity. And so humanity prevailed.

Another grim little tale in the *Tso Chuan* has a less happy ending. In 581 B. C. the Marquis of Chin dreamed of a spectre which broke into his palace and threatened vengeance for the slaughter of his descendants. A noted sorceress was called in, and was found to know all the details of his dream. "What will be the outcome?" asked the Marquis. "You will not taste the new wheat," she replied. Soon afterwards he was attacked by a disease which no doctor could cure, but was still alive when the new wheat was brought in from the fields. After it had been prepared for his table, the sorceress was summoned again, and having been shown the wheat, was incontinently put to death. The Marquis, however, actually collapsed and died before he could begin his meal.

On one occasion at least, in the fifth century B. C., the witches met a fate which was not wholly undeserved. According to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Record*, a new governor who had been appointed to a district bordering on the Yellow River began by inquiring into the grievances of the people. He found that the Elders and other officials were in league with the sorcerers of the place to extort large sums of money every year for the purpose of providing a "bride" for the River-god. They would select a young girl of poor family, array her for the wedding ceremony, and launch her on the stream in such a way that she would soon sink and be drowned. The bulk of the subscriptions was then divided amongst the conspirators. The governor arranged to be present when the ceremony took place, and at once declared that the bride was not good-looking enough. The chief sorceress, an old woman of seventy, was told she must go and report to the god that another maiden would be chosen immediately. Accordingly, she was thrown into the river, and as she did not come back, the governor ordered others to be sent after her one by one, to find out the cause

of the delay. Then the Elders' turn came; but after they had been thrown in, the remaining officials hurriedly began making prostrations and begged for mercy. This was granted; and from that time forth no one dared to broach the question of another bride for the River-god.

Wizardry undoubtedly prepared the way for the later phases of Taoism, though at first the exponents of the new doctrine seem to have regarded the *wu* in the light of rivals for popular favour. Both Lieh Tzu and Chuang Tzu tell of the discomfiture of a certain magician, credited with supernatural powers, as soon as he was confronted by a genuine man of Tao. Roughly it may be said that the *wu* were chiefly concerned with necromancy, while the Taoist adepts branched out into a number of other pursuits centering round the quest for immortality. The dividing line between the two cults was so thin, however, that in course of time they seem to have practically merged into one; and in the fourth century A. D. we find the famous alchemist and Taoist writer Ko Hung telling this curious anecdote with evident appreciation:—

When the Emperor Ching Ti of the Wu dynasty fell ill, he sought out an exorcist, and tested him in the following way: having killed a goose, he buried it in his garden, and erected a small building over the spot, in which certain articles of feminine attire were displayed on a couch. This he showed to the exorcist, saying: "If you can describe the appearance of the dead woman who is lying in this tomb, you shall be handsomely rewarded, and I will have faith in you." For twenty-four hours no answer was forthcoming, but at last when pressed the exorcist said: "To tell the truth, I see no disembodied spirit there at all, only a white goose perched on the tomb. That is why I did not answer at once; for I suspected that the spirit might have assumed that shape, and I was waiting for the true figure to appear. However, there has been no change, I don't know why. I dare not conceal the truth from your Majesty." On hearing this, the Emperor showered gifts upon him. —It appears, then, that even a goose has a spectral body after death.

Long before Taoism obtained official recognition, the art of sorcery had been systematized for public purposes, and sorcerers often stood in high favour at Court. Three of the most masterful emperors in the third and second centuries B. C. had a great hankering after the occult. The first of these, the tyrant Ch'in Shih Huang, gathered round him a band of magicians who directed a fruitless expedition in search of the fabled Isles of the Blest. Then came the first Han emperor, who founded four colleges of priestesses (that is, female *wu*) whose business it was to sacrifice to certain deities at different seasons of the year. But both were outdone in ardour by the Emperor Wu, whose long and politically momentous reign was strangely punctuated with psychic adventures. Here is one of them, told all too briefly by Ssu-ma Ch'ien:—

In the following year (121 B. C.) Shao-wêng, a native of Ch'i, was admitted to the Emperor's presence on account of his proficiency in spirit-magic. Now, the Emperor had a consort, the Lady Wang, of whom he was very fond. She died, and Shao-wêng was able, through his art, to produce materializations both of the Lady Wang and the Spirit of the Hearth at night, which were seen by the Son of Heaven as he watched from behind a curtain. Thereupon he honoured Shao-wêng by conferring on him the title of Marshal of Cultural Perfection, loaded him with gifts, and treated him on the footing of a guest.

The same episode is related with a little more detail in the Han History :—

Seeing that the Emperor never ceased yearning after his dead wife, the magician Shao-wêng of Ch'i said to him : "I can bring back her spirit-form." Accordingly, when night had fallen, a curtained space was prepared, lamps were arranged, and offerings of food and wine set forth. The Emperor was instructed to watch from behind another curtain, and he saw a beautiful girl, like the deceased lady in appearance, walk round the alcove and sit down, after which she took a few steps in his direction ; but before he could obtain a nearer view, she vanished. This raised the Emperor's love and grief to an even higher pitch, and he composed an elegy which began : "Can it be she or no ? I stood apart and beheld her coming towards me—too slowly, alas ! "

Whether it was a genuine materialization or not, this is certainly the earliest account of such a séance that has come down to us, unless the raising up of Samuel by the Witch of Endor can be regarded as one. Unfortunately Shao-wêng appears to have yielded to a temptation from which mediums of the present day are not wholly immune ; for Ssu-ma Ch'ien goes on to say that

his powers began to decline, and the spirits would not come to his call. So he made an inscription on a piece of silk and gave it to a cow to eat. Then, pretending to know nothing about it, he said : " I sense something uncommon in this cow's stomach." The animal was killed, and the document discovered : its purport was certainly very strange. But the Son of Heaven recognized the handwriting, and caused an inquiry to be made, so that the fraud was detected. The Marshal of Cultural Perfection was put to death, but the affair was hushed up.

Some further passages from the the same chapter of the *Historical Record* are worth quoting. About the year 133 B. C. the Emperor Wu had sought out the "Spirit Princess" and built a special shrine in his private park where sacrifices were offered to her. This was a woman who had died in childbed and subsequently appeared to her sister-in-law.

One could hear the words uttered by the spirit without seeing any material form....The year after the death of the Marshal of Cultural Perfection the Son of Heaven fell seriously ill in the Ting-hu Palace. Every available exorcist and physician was called in, yet he did not get better. Yu-shui Fa-kên said : " In Shang-chün there is a wizard into whom the spirits descend when he has a seizure." The Emperor

summoned him and had a sacrificial offering prepared for the occasion at Kan-ch'üan. When the seizure came, he caused somebody to interrogate the Spirit Princess (who was evidently the wizard's "control," as we should say nowadays), and she spoke as follows: "Let not the Son of Heaven be troubled by his illness; but when it abates a little, let him make an effort to meet me here at Kan-ch'üan." His health began to improve, so he got up and went to Kan-ch'üan; and as soon as he was completely cured, he granted a general amnesty and had a feast prepared in honour of the Spirit Princess in the Palace of Longevity.

Now, the deity most venerated by the Spirit Princess was the Great Monad. Her attendants were Ta-chin, Ssu-ming, and others, all of whom accompanied her. These spirits could not be seen, but one could hear them speak. Their voices were like those of human beings. They would come and go, and at the time of their coming an awe-inspiring wind would blow. They abode in the curtains of the room, and sometimes spoke in daylight, though it was usually at night that they did so. The Son of Heaven only came in after a process of purification; and the wizard, playing the part of host, attended to the provision of food and drink. Whenever the Spirit Princess wished to speak, it was done through the medium of the wizard. Moreover, the Emperor had a palace built to the north of the Palace of Longevity, where feathered banners were displayed, and everything arranged so as to do honour to the Spirit Princess. A man was appointed to take down in writing whatever she said, and these utterances of hers were called "Inscribed Laws." Their content was such as was known to the world in general, and there was nothing extraordinary in them; yet they delighted the heart of the Son of Heaven. These things were kept secret, and no one knew of them.

There are several points in the above which strongly suggest that we have here to do with genuine psychic phenomena, and that spiritualism was the same in essentials two thousand years ago as when it was rediscovered in the last century at Hydesville. To begin with, the description of the wizard as one "into whom the spirits descend when he has a seizure" would apply to any medium of the present day going off into a trance and passing under control. The invisible spirits whose voices were like those of human beings may very well have been using the "direct voice." The "awe-inspiring wind" corresponds to what is now known as the "psychic breeze," an unexplained phenomenon which I myself have experienced more than once, and which seems to accompany the release of ectoplasm in any large quantity. The curtained alcove or tent mentioned in the materialization séance must have served the same purpose as our "cabinet." Darkness, as we know, conduces to good results, and hence we are not surprised to learn that the manifestations usually took place at night. It is emphasized, too, that the presence of the wizard, or medium, was essential for communication. Finally, the very fact that

there was "nothing extraordinary" in the messages that came through tells in favour of their genuineness, and diminishes the probability of fraud having been used to create a sensation.

But the real importance of this record lies in its having been penned by a sober, responsible eye-witness who was by no means too well-disposed towards magicians in general. This is what Ssu-ma Ch'ien himself says in his note at the end of the chapter :—

I have accompanied His Majesty on his ceremonial tours when he sacrificed to Heaven and Earth, to the various deities, to the famous mountains and rivers, and when he accomplished the *fêng* and *shan* rites. I have been into the Palace of Longevity to attend the sacrifices there, and have heard the spirits speaking. I have thoroughly investigated the claims of magicians and priests, and afterwards, in private, have reviewed them in order. All matters connected with the worship of spirits, divine or disembodied, from ancient to modern times, I have here set forth in their inner and outer aspects, so that wise men of the future may be able to read and judge for themselves.

LIONEL GILES

ON IMMORTALITY

In an interesting study of "The Chinese View of Immortality: Its Expression by Chu Hsi and Its Relationship to Buddhist Thought" (*The Review of Religion*, May 1942) Professor Derk Bodde compares the Buddhist teaching on immortality with that of the Neo-Confucianism of the twelfth-century Chu Hsi, which wielded a great influence among educated Chinese down to the present century. With the sole exception of Mo-Tzu, who taught in the fourth century B. C., Professor Bodde claims that the Chinese non-Buddhist philosophers either denied altogether the existence of a soul after death or conceived of immortality impersonally, as the continuance, in newly constituted forms, of the parts of an indestructible universe.

Professor Bodde recognizes Chu Hsi's claim, that the logical culmination of the Buddhist view would be an anarchistic world of individual and unrelated Natures or personalities, as a gross misrepresentation of the Buddhist point of view. The latter is better summarised by Sir C. Eliot, whom Professor Bodde quotes as writing that the Buddhist teaching does not deny that before birth or after death there may be other existences similar to human life. It merely states that in all the world, organic and inorganic, there is nothing which is simple, self-existent, self-determined, and permanent; everything is compound, relative and transitory.

The Buddha himself explained why he withheld from the masses such difficult metaphysical doctrines. Several pertinent quotations could be cited, notably the famous dialogue in the *Samyuttaka Nikaya* in which is brought out the differentiation between the two selves—the one lower and impermanent, the other higher and everlasting.

Incidentally Professor Bodde describes the abstract *li* or Law in Chinese philosophy, as "multiple, so that for every single class of objects that belong to the physical world of matter, there exists a corresponding Law or principle in the metaphysical world." This abstract *li* and individualised Law or *hsing* seem to parallel closely the Indian concepts of abstract Dharma and the *dharma* of each particular element or being.

EIRE IN WAR TIME

[**Mr. R. M. Fox** wrote in our last volume (August 1941) on "Modern Ireland: Beliefs and Tendencies." Here the author of *Green Banners: The Story of the Irish Struggle* and of *Rebel Irishwomen* writes from Dublin of the situation which the war has brought to his country—fresh proof, if any were needed, that the world is one and that no nation liveth unto itself.—ED.]

In war time tempers grow irritable, so it is not surprising that Eire's insistence on her neutrality has resulted in all kinds of attacks and misconceptions. From one section of the British press the reader may gather that Ireland is a sort of under-cover ally of Nazi Germany. It is necessary then to get some kind of objective analysis of the Irish situation.

For convenience we can separate the essential factors into the contemporary and the historical, although in practice there is no such separation. The historical influences are, in fact, just those ways of thinking which have made it impossible for Eire to preserve her national unity and take part in the war.

These historical influences are not just a matter of brooding over old wrongs or ancient enmities. They form part of the living present. For generations Ireland was engaged in the struggle for independence, an independence substantially won with the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922. But even then the separation of the Six Counties from the rest of Ireland left an unhealed wound. The London Treaty was not so much negotiated as imposed, and a civil war resulted for which Britain was blamed. Like all countries whose independence is of recent attainment Eire is sensitive about her national status. Allied to this is the fact that, in pre-independence days, anti-British slogans entered deeply into the consciousness of the people, who were brought up on such sayings as "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity."

Today these sayings have no meaning. But there is always a time lag and opinion is still coloured by them. What is surprising is that the section influenced by such prejudices remains so insignificant. There is, it is true, a small illegal body organised on military lines which persists in regarding Mr. de Valera as the tool of England. Such a view is a corrective to the more reactionary Tories in Britain. This intransigeant element claims that Irish independence is not yet won and uses the border issue as a means of fomenting discontent. The group in question is not numerically strong but potentially it might be a great source of national weakness if it could draw discontented people into its orbit with familiar slogans. Those who remember the pre-war bomb campaign in Britain will not underrate the disruptive powers of the

physical-force group which regards Mr. de Valera and his Government as its greatest enemy and would lend itself to any anti-British activities.

Faced with that situation Mr. de Valera has proclaimed Eire's neutrality. Any other line—even if he had wished to take it—would have split Ireland into warring fragments and put a powerful lever into the hands of his enemies at home. The wisdom of such a stand is evidenced by the support Mr. de Valera has received from practically every responsible section of the community, including those who are bitterly anti-Nazi and who realise that a Nazi triumph would mean the end of Irish independence. The gain to the Allied cause, they feel, would not be compensated by the dangers of civil war and commotion which a declaration of solidarity with Britain would involve. Such a split in Ireland might even do great harm to the cause which they would like to assist.

It must be remembered, too, that when Mr. de Valera talks about being neutral he means just that. Long before hostilities began he announced that he would never permit Eire to be made a base for any hostile activities against Britain. Reports to the contrary which have appeared in papers catering to sensation are untrue and have the harmful effect of injuring the friendly relations between Ireland and Britain.

When we turn to ideological factors we are on more difficult ground. It would be idle to claim that the Irish view of democracy coincides with the traditional British view. British democracy has not been an article for export to such countries as Ireland or India and it is no wonder that it is not accepted at its face value. Coercion tempered by armed revolt was the normal state of affairs in Ireland for generations. Parliamentary government is of too recent growth to be as deep-rooted as in Britain. A régime which began with civil war only twenty years ago is bound to favour a strong central government of an authoritarian kind. The existence of military courts to deal with violent offences against the State is an index of the situation.

Democracy is not regarded as imperative in the conduct of national affairs. So it follows that a call to defence of the principles of democracy does not make such a strong appeal as it does in Britain where, for generations, no other method of conducting national affairs has been known. Eire looks rather at the practical difficulties and dangers—the certainty of national disunity and the possibilities of disaster for a small weak country which may become the cockpit for stronger powers. Ireland desires to remain at peace. But no one should imagine that she would be slow to defend her independence with all the forces she could muster. Much money and time have been devoted to the question of National defence. Although the prevailing view—even among those who take a definitely anti-Nazi stand—is that Ireland would not be able

to contribute enough in attack to justify such a small nation's entering the war, there is no doubt that a stubborn defence would be made against any aggressor.

Many people may find it difficult to understand why Mr. de Valera should trouble to protest against the landing of American troops in the North. But no one familiar with the border situation should be surprised. Eire has never ceased to regard this Northern territory as belonging by right to the Irish Nation. Mr. de Valera's statement —the friendliness of which was emphasised by Mr. Brennan, the Irish Minister at Washington—was not intended to change the accomplished fact of the landing but simply to register the view that the Eire Government has the right to be consulted before troops are landed in any part of Ireland. Mr. de Valera is a stickler for the persistent affirmation of National rights—a habit acquired in past years—and though, from the larger stand-point of the world struggle, it might appear an irrelevance it stakes a claim for future consideration.

Eire's decision not to play a belligerent part in the world conflict if this can be avoided, Britain should understand, does not imply hostility or favouring the Nazi cause. The fate of other small nations does not encourage a break away from this policy. For about two years America held fast to neutrality. The Indian Nationalist movement initiated an obstructive civil-disobedience movement in war time. Progressive opinion in Britain respected the reasons behind these activities. Is it too much to expect that the greater difficulties of Eire will also be understood?

For Eire the main problems of the war situation have not been political or military but economic. The internal difficulties of adjustment have been so great that other issues have been dwarfed. In Britain the civilian population has been absorbed in war tasks but in Eire the constant preoccupation has been to keep people at their ordinary work. Lack of essential supplies to industry—increasingly acute with growing shipping restrictions—threatened a wholesale closing down of Irish industries. A scheme of rotational work has now been devised for many industries, with the assistance of the Department of Industry and Commerce. Employees may now work alternate days or periods and claim unemployment benefit for the days they do not work. This arrangement has the advantage of keeping a large number on the pay-roll who would otherwise be flung on to the streets.

Every day this question of supplies grows more difficult. Industry and transport are affected with a kind of creeping paralysis. Lack of coal has meant the gradual cutting down of railway services until now only a skeleton service is maintained. Scarcity of petrol has done the same for road services. Fuel, light and power—the arteries of the nation—are all threatened. Gas has been

rationed in several provincial towns, including Cork, the second city. Strong appeals have been made to Dublin citizens to economise in gas to avoid rationing in that city, a step which would have disastrous consequences to the already hard-hit industries in the area.

In place of British coal, not now available, a huge campaign for the cutting of peat was launched last year. Transport was the weak link in the chain, for peat is bulky, burns twice as quickly as coal and needs to be moved from the bogs to the towns. This year efforts are being intensified. Much of time, energy and petrol was wasted in the initial stages taking workers to and from the bogs. Now it is the intention of the Government to spend £500,000 on the building of camps on the bogs which will accommodate 10,000 workers during the whole cutting season. Five new villages of concrete houses have already been constructed. Where big suitable buildings exist they are being reconstructed. Civilians, the Construction Corps and the Army are being used in this gigantic fuel drive.

Bread is another danger point. Before the war about 50 per cent. of Ireland's wheat supply was imported. Last year it was estimated that the farmers grew 290,000 tons out of the 370,000 needed, leaving 80,000 tons to be imported. Actually the farmers have only delivered about 190,000 tons of grain from last year's harvest at the guaranteed price of 45*s*. per barrel—a deficit of about 100,000 tons. Whether the farmers withheld this grain or whether the acreage under wheat was overestimated is not clear, but the deficit means a very serious situation before the next harvest. Already Ministers have indicated that bread and flour rationing may be necessary. Deliveries of flour have been cut to 80 per cent. of the 1940 figure. The daily wheat consumption of Eire is about 1,000 tons and, on the basis of the present stocks, the country will be 100 days without wheat or bread unless more can be imported or further economies made.

The possible wheat shortage last year was dealt with by fixing a 98 per cent. wheat content of the loaf so that white bread is no longer on the market. Restrictions on the use of wheaten foods in hotels, restaurants, etc., were also made. Compulsory tillage has been introduced on all arable land. The tillage quota this year has been raised and lands are being taken over and worked by the State when owners disobey the order. The Senate recommends compulsory sowing of wheat in addition to compulsory tillage in general. It is an offence to feed wheaten foods to animals. To stimulate the farmers the price has been raised to 50*s*. per barrel this year. A State subsidy of nearly £2,000,000 was made last November to keep down the price of bread. But now that the price of wheat has been raised, bread will inevitably cost more. So far, bread rationing has been avoided and

appeals have been made to those who can, to cut their bread and flour consumption by at least one-fifth. By this means it is hoped to avoid a flat rationing scheme which will press most severely upon the very poor for whom bread is the principal food.

Within ten years the area of wheat cultivation rose from 21,000 acres to 491,000 in 1941. Incidentally it may be noted that while the lack of imported raw materials from Britain has slowed down the wheels of industry and revealed the weakness of a rigid self-sufficiency policy in industry, the efforts made, both in industry and in tillage, to put Ireland on her own feet in the pre-war years have proved invaluable in the present crisis. The call made for 650,000 acres under wheat in 1942 would mean a 30 per cent. increase and would make Eire quite independent of imported grain.

Now that America is in the war the difficulties of importing grain from overseas are greater than ever. An Irish firm, Grain Importers Ltd., sponsored by the Government, has chartered boats across the Atlantic. Cargoes were brought to Lisbon and transhipped in smaller vessels to Eire. The growing of more wheat will release cargo space for other vital goods.

Apart from feeding her people, Eire has a large cattle population to feed. In pre-war days she imported thousands of tons of feeding stuffs, including much maize from South America. All this has now stopped. For eight months of last year, cattle exports were prohibited in consequence of foot-and-mouth disease. At the end of this period Eire was left with about twice the normal number of cattle. To maintain the stock on the farms it will be necessary to grow oats and barley this year to the extent of 1,350,000 acres as against 900,000 acres in 1941. This means about 2,000,000 acres under cereals or a quarter of the entire arable land of the country. This, in itself, is a complete revolution in economic life, for Eire is traditionally a cattle and not a tillage country. Already there is serious talk of slaughtering a large proportion of the cattle if it is necessary to reserve the grain for the people. Bread is now 100 per cent. wheat content—nothing is wasted from the grain—and it may be necessary to mix oats and barley with the wheat.

Eire's war presents itself as an economic war for food and for work, for keeping the wheels of industry and transport running. Her imports have dropped to roughly half her export figure. Normally the position is reversed, for industrial requirements are large. There is a shortage of coal, petrol, tobacco, thread, imported wools, news-print, every kind of industrial commodity, and no one knows where the next difficulty will arise. Industrialists have set up a Research Bureau to discover home substitutes for essential raw materials from abroad. This body has succeeded in keeping several industries running that were on the verge of

closing down.

The question of price inflation has also forced itself to the front. To guard against rising prices the Government has stabilised wages and dividends at their existing level, irrespective of price changes. Civil servants whose salaries were adjusted according to a sliding cost-of-living scale found suddenly that they had reached the maximum figure. Employers may be fined for paying more than the existing wage rates. Modifications have had to be made in the case of lower-paid workers, for prices continue to rise in spite of these precautions. The theory behind the order is that unless wages and dividends are pegged down there will be a "vicious spiral" of wages chasing prices and *vice versa*. Eire is fully occupied with these internal problems which are intensified by the fact that all the countries at war are far too busy with their own concerns to spare material or shipping to satisfy her import needs.

R. M. Fox

LABOUR AND LEISURE

The *Gita*'s whole philosophy of moderation together with the Buddha's counsel of the Middle Way, stand behind the protest of the English essayist, Mr. John Stewart Collis, against too long hours of work. After two years' experience as an agricultural labourer he writes feelingly in *Time and Tide* of 20th June, finding the maldistribution of labour rather than of wealth the basic inequality.

> I who have seen both sides and felt both sides and worked in both capacities, do say that nothing, absolutely nothing, has made so great an impression on my mind as this inequality of working hours....

The sufferers from this maldistribution are not only the overworked but also the underworked. Too much leisure is as bad as too little, and not for the unemployed alone but also for those at the other end of the economic ladder, whom circumstances have freed from the need of gainful employment.

To put moderate exertion in action within the reach of all would demand not only bringing many more into the ranks of productive labour but also the acquiescence of the privileged in the reduction of incomes which a general shortening of the hours of labour would certainly entail. Nothing, surely, could move them to such willing self-abnegation except the recognition of the whole world as a fraternity, a noble ideal indeed, but the anticipation of its general early realisation is hardly practical politics.

We agree with Mr. Collis that "the way to save the world is not by a World Brain or an International Conference or a New Party or Even Equal Wages for All," but we do not think that "giving everyone work he liked," however desirable, would in itself bring in the Golden Age. J. M. Barrie put his finger on a truth at once profounder and more practical when he wrote "Not in doing what you like but in liking what you do is the secret of happiness."

In this as in other things we have to make haste slowly. Let the ideal be accepted of a progressive reduction of the hours of labour—though perhaps not quite to Mr. Collis's five-day week and six-hour day. And then let effort be steadily directed towards its realisation, *pari passu* with the development of opportunities for, and the encouragement of, the more fruitful use of leisure by the over-rested as well as by the overworked.

Ph. D.

THE POET RADIU'D-DIN OF NISHAPUR

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

[We publish here the second of two articles by **Dr. Hadi Hasan** of Aligarh Muslim University who, a decade since, added to his laurels as scholar and historian by his discovery of the lost *diwan* of the mediæval poet Radiu'd-Din of Nishapur, whose life and times he here reconstructs partly on the basis of its evidence.

It was a noble culture that produced Radiu'd-Din but the times that form his setting seem as dark as our own in the cheapness in which human life is held. It was the poet's fortune not to live to record the tragic downfall of his sovereign and the sack of Samarqand. The Qara-Khanid dynasty dramatically illustrates the universal cyclic rise and fall, to which cultures and dynasties alike must bow.

The historian's task ends with the conscientiously constructed outline of events ; but here is grist for the imaginative playwright's and the fiction-writer's mill.—ED.]

II.—" THE PATHS OF GLORY... "

THE REIGN OF RUKNU'D-DIN

The next ruler was Qutlugh Bilgabeg Abu'l-Muzaffar Qilij-Tamghaj Khaqan Mas'ud b. Jalalu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din 'Ali. His name, as mentioned by his secretary Bahau'd-Din Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Muhammad b. al-Hasan (or b. 'Umar in the *Sindbad-namah*) az-Zahir al-Katib as-Samarqandi, on f. 3a of the unique Leyden MS. Codex 904—*A'radu's-Siyasat fi Aghradi'r-Riyasat :* " Examples of Diplomacy in the Aims of Government " composed about 560 A. H.[1] and transcribed by Habibu'llah Isfahani in 947 A. H. —is as follows :—

خداوند عالم خاقان عالم عادل اعظم ملک
موید مظفر منصور معظم شرف ملوک الامم
مولی الترک والعجم ظهیر الامام نصیر الانام
ضیاء الدوله بهاء الملة ملجاء الامة
جلال الملک تاج الملوک الترک رکن الدنیا
والدین غیاث الاسلام والمسلمین
شمس الملوک والسلاطین قتلغ تیکا بکا
(six) ابوالمظفر قلج طمغاج خاقان بن
جلال الدنیا والدین

The title Ruknu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din is supported by numismatic evidence and the evidence of his court-poet Radiu'd-Din of Nishapur. Says Barthold (*Turkestan*, p. 336) :—

Judging from his coins, Mas'ud b.

[1] Ethe (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie II*, p. 258) says it was composed in 552 A. H. but Ruknu'd-Din to whom the work is dedicated began his reign *c.* 556 A. H. and some time must be allowed for the occurrence of the various events of Ruknu'd-Din's reign mentioned in this work.

'Alī succeeded to the throne in 558 A. H.: two coins dated 558 A. H. issued by this monarch are known and are described by Dorn in the Mêlanges Asiatiques (St. Petersburg, 1881, tome VIII, p. 734).

But the author of the *A'radu's-Siyasat fi Aghradi'r-Riyasat* has left another work, preserved in the unique Br. Mus. MS. Or. 255, again dedicated to:—

ركن الدنيا والدين غياث الاسلام والمسلمين
ظلل الله فى العالمين قتلج بلكا ابوالمظفر
طمعاج (read طمغاج) خان بن قلج قرا خان

who had returned after a long absence to his hereditary dominions and who after vanquishing his foes in Turān in the year 56,[1] *i. e.*, 556 A.H., had restored peace in his empire.

Obviously, therefore, the dates of the termination of Jalalu'd-Din's reign and of the commencement of Ruknu'd-Din's reign have been wrongly stated by Barthold by two years: Jalalu'd-Din died and was succeeded by Ruknu'd-Din in 556 A. H. or earlier.

Ibnu'l-Athir (XI. 55) mentions Ruknu'd-Din as early as 524 A. H. Further, Ibnu'l-Athir is the sole authority for the following information (XI. 205): Acceding to the request of the ruler of the Qara-Khitays, Chaghri Khan b. Hasan-tagin [چغرى خان بن حسن تكين] asked the Qarluqs to vacate Bukhara and Samarqand and to disarm themselves and settle down as agriculturists in Kashghar. The Qarluqs resented this order and marched on Bukhara. Trouble was averted only by the ingenuity of the sadr of Bukhara, Muhammad b. 'Umar b. Burhanu'd-Din 'Abdu'l-Aziz b. Mazah, who, by playing upon the religious feelings of the Qarluqs, induced them to refrain from plunder till Chaghri Khan, who had been secretly informed of the situation by the sadr, arrived with his troops and crushed the revolt. Mirza Muhammad, in his notes to the *Lubabu'l-Albab* I. p. 332:—

امام شمس الدين صدر جهان محمد
بن عمر بن عبد العزيز بن مازه كه رئيس
بخارا بود و در سنهٔ ۵۵۹ غارت تركان قرلق
را بر بخارا بلطائف الحيل بتعويق افكند
تا چغرى خان بن حسن تگين كه از جانب
خطا والى سمرقند و بخارا بود برسيد و
شر ايشان را دفع نمود

accepts Ibnu'l-Athir's version in its entirety but Barthold (*Turkestan*, p. 334) disagrees with the date, adding: "Ibnu'l-Athir mistakenly refers this event to 559/1164 when, judging by the numismatic data, Jalalu'd-Din's son, Qilij-Tamghaj Khan Mas'ud was already on the throne." "It is very likely," continues Barthold, "that this account (of Ibnu'l-Athir) relates to the event which evoked the campaign of Il-Arslan, although it is also possible that after

[1] (*Sic*):—

خصمان ملك و دولت و متعديان خطه توران در شهور سنه ست و خمسين بود
زمصاف

Il-Arslan's withdrawal a new dispute arose between the Qarluqs and Jalalu'd-Din. " Now, according to Radiu'd-Din's ode already cited, the sadr of Bukhara, Shamsu'd-Din b. Husam, was responsible for making Bukhara an abode of peace in 559 A. H. Why should the poet specify this date and say that it was in 559 A. H. that Bukhara became through Shamsu'd-Din's efforts an abode of peace unless it be that he is referring to Shamsu'd-Din's rôle in saving Bukhara in 559 A. H. from being looted by the Qarluqs ? Ibnu'l-Athir's date, rejected by Barthold, is therefore correct ; the Qarluq revolt did take place in 559 A. H.— though not, as stated by Ibnu'l-Athir and accepted by Mirza Muhammad, in the reign of Chaghri Khan b. Hasan-tagin but in the reign of his son and successor Ruknu'd-Din. Consequently, the Qarluq revolt of Ibnu'l-Athir cannot be identified, as Barthold does, with the Qarluq campaign of Juwayni : the two events are separate and distinct, the latter occurring in 553 A. H. in the reign of Jalalu'd-Din ; the former in 559 A. H. in the reign of Ruknu'd-Din.

Supplementing his information on Ruknu'd-Din's prowess, already quoted,[1] his secretary al-Katib as-Samarqandi writes :—

" Now 'Ayyar Beg, though not born great, achieved greatness by his accuracy of judgment and endurance of fatigue, and for a full year he commanded (the armies of) Transoxania and performed great feats, for he was brave and valorous and there was no horseman like unto him in the ranks of the Qarluq guard. Nevertheless since at heart he was inimical to His Majesty he beheld not the face of the government but its back, and witnessed not the forehead of the country but its nape. And the battle in the steppe between Zamin and Sabat was a marvel of the times for when the two armies confronted each other on that plain and pressed forward, the one upon the other, 'Ayyar Beg brushed aside the victorious troops and cut his way through the ranks till he reached the elevation where His Majesty, with a few select members of his staff, had taken his stand under the royal umbrella. And there was His Majesty standing like a rock in dignity and the sky in grandeur and like the sun in Aries and the moon in Cancer when the hunter of Death emerged from the ambush of Fate and caught the neck of 'Ayyar Beg in the lasso of Destruction and presented the victim to His Majesty who signed the death-warrant (*i. e.*, slew him) with his own hand. And then several thousand of those rebels were slaughtered upon that plain and

Whosoever should doubt this statement let him go and behold the battlefield of the king,

Where on hill and dale lies the rich harvest of the bodies of his foes.

" More noteworthy is the record of the king in dealing with two sects of people who were the vilest of creatures on the face of the earth.

[1] See THE ARYAN PATH, Vol. XIII, pp. 451-2, October 1942.

Firstly those responsible for aiding, abetting, and participating in the murder of His Majesty the martyr Tamghaj Khan Ibrahim b. Muhammad ;[1] and secondly, the Ghuzz clan which had revolted against His Majesty and pillaged the province of Khurasan, and had destroyed mosques, pulpits, and (other) places of Islamic worship and had put to death, with torture, the theologians and the divines of Islam. Divine retribution overtook these parties both of whom were annihilated during the auspicious reign of His Majesty. And during winter, without the use of either bridge or boats, this just sovereign transported 100,000 troops over the Oxus and not a soldier's dress was wet ! And the four following are the treasures which, during the commencement of his reign, fell to the lot of His Majesty whereby the tresses of the bride of the kingdom were adorned and the faces of the illustrious people of the age illuminated *viz.*, (i) the campaign (against 'Ayyar Beg and the Qarluqs) in the steppes of Zamin, Jan,[2] Nakhshab, Araksu and Kakaniyan, (ii) the campaign resulting in the blockade of the murderers (of Tamghaj Khan) who had strengthened themselves in the land of Islam and whose evil, thanks to the statesmanship of His Majesty, was cleansed from Transoxania so that the inhabitants of Kish, Nakhshab, Chaghaniyan and Tirmidh could sleep in peace on the bed of comfort, (iii) the crossing of the Oxus at a time when the sky was blowing camphor in the faces of men and the river had clothed itself in crystal: the fire of hell had yielded to the icy blasts and the face of the earth was veiled in a mantle of snow. Like Moses he crossed the Nile and (iv) slaughtered the Pharaohs of oppression (in Khurasan). And verily this was a miracle wrought by His Majesty, like which no miracle hath befallen any ruler or government."[3]

The vengeance taken on the Ghuzz was no doubt in response to Anwari's appeal contained in the celebrated poem—"The Tears of Khurasan" :—

بر سمرقند اگر بگذری ای باد سحر
نامهٔ اهل خراسان ببر خاقان بر
,,
خسرو عادل خاقان معظم که چند
بادشاهست و جهاندار بهفتاد پدر
دائمش فخر بآنست که در پیش ملوک
پسرش خواندی سلطان سلاطین سنجر
باز خواهد ز غزان کینه که واجب شد
خواستن کین پدر بر پسر خوب سیر
,,

[1] Tamghaj Khan Ibrahim b. Tamghaj Khan (so 'Awfi) Muhammad-tagin Arslan Khan became ruler of Samarqand after the battle of Qatwan 536 A. H. and was killed by the Qarluqs and his body thrown out on the steppes towards the end of Dhu'l-Hijja 550 A. H. (so Ibnu'l-Athir, XI. 133, who adds that the Khan was a weak ruler throughout his reign) or in 551 A. H. at Kallabad near Bukhara (so Jamal Qarshi, *Texts* p. 132) :—

الخاقان ابراهيم بن ارسلان خان محمد بن سليمان مات بكلاباد ببخارا سنة ٥٥١

[2] Text حسن *of. Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* I. 319.

[3] Leyden MS. f. 212b–214a.

چون شد از عدلش سر تا سر توران آباد
کی روا دارد ایران شده ویران یکسر؟

The *mamduh* of the poem is accordingly Ruknu'd-Din and the sadr "Shams-i-Islam Burhanu'd-Din" is no doubt identical with Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad, the saviour of Bukhara in 559 A. H.

There can be no doubt that Ruknu'd-Din proved to be a vigorous ruler. "Abu'l-Muzaffar Tamghaj Khan," says Radiu'd-Din, "hath subdued all his enemies in the east and must now contemplate a conquest of the west." Ode V.

ابوالمظفر طمغاج خان که می نرسد
بحد مدحت او وهم هیچ شاه ستای

,,

شها چو هیچ مخالف ترا بشرق نماند
عنان فتح و ظفر زین سپس بغرب گرای

Again: "Ruknu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din hath brought to Samarqand and Bukhara the splendours of Saba." Ode VIII.

خسرو عالم رکن‌الدین والدنیا آنکه
رتبتش مسند بر بارک جوزا آورد

,,

فتنه زین بیش بدین گونه نمی بود ضعیف
عدل و انصاف شهش کار بدینجا آورد
هرچه در شهر سبا بود ز امن و نزهت
عدل شاهش بسمرقند و بخارا آورد

Finally, "the redress of the nation Tamghaj Khan has conquered Balkh and Zamin." Ode X.

غیاث ملت طمغاج خان شه دوران
که سر ستاند از انکش نمی نهد گردن

,,

پادشاه فضلا صدر جهان خواجهٔ عصر
مایهٔ قدر و شرف قاعدهٔ فضل و هنر
شمس اسلام فلک مرتبه برهان‌الدین
آنکه مولاش بود شمس و فلک فرمانبر

,,

باورش بادا حق عز و جل در همه کار
تا درین کار بود با تو به همت یاور

,,

پیش سلطان جهان سنجر کر پرور است
این چنین بادشه دادگر حق پرور
دیدهٔ خواجهٔ آفاق کمال‌الدین را
که نباشد بجهان خواجه ازان کامل تر

,,

با کمال‌الدین ابنای خراسان گفتند
قصهٔ ما بخداوند جهان خاقان بر

The Khaqan of Samarqand to whom the ode is addressed has hitherto not been identified but as the Ghuzz spoliation of Khurasan began in 548 A. H. the anonymous *mamduh* can only be Ibrahim Tamghaj Khan or Jalalu'd-Din or Ruknu'd-Din. Now Ibrahim who succeeded to the throne after the battle of Qatwan in 536 A. H. was a weak ruler throughout his reign and was himself killed in a civil war in 550 or 551 A. H. by the Qarluqs. Similarly Jalalu'd-Din who ruled 551-556 A. H. had himself to enlist Qara-Khitay support to suppress Qarluq mutineers in his kingdom; and even so the result was indecisive. By elimination Ruknu'd-Din is left over and Ruknu'd-Din who had already taken vengeance on the Qarluqs could also be induced to take vengeance on the Ghuzz spoliators of Khurasan :—

تو آن مبین که بجنگ آمدند ته بر ته
حدیث تیغ خود از فتح بلخ و زامن[1] پرس
دل چو غنچه از انواع کینه و عصیان
چه خیزد از سخن نازل من الکن؟

The victory of Zamin is obviously the battle in the steppe between Zamin and Sabat independently described by al-Katib as-Samarqandi, but the reference to the conquest of Balkh is fresh information not contained in other sources. "Tuti had taken refuge in Balkh," says the poet in another ode. "When thy armies made a charge from the fortress of Handawan in Balkh, Tuti fled to Marv." Ode VII.

تو این نگر که باقبال پادشاه شدند
ز بخت و دولت و اقبال شهریار جهان
چو لاله هر یک اندر شکم فتاده ستان
زهی عجائب فتح و ظفر که گشت عیان
کنون بدانند آن چند موش خوار یقین
سرای پرده خسرو بچین و از بختش
که کار نصرت تو نیست گربه در انبان
ببلخ یابی پر چین شده رخ طغیان
عجب نباشد اگر یوز را شود پندی
خدایگانا بشگفت هر گل فتحی
از انچه دید سگ از زخم گرزهای گران
که داشت گردون در طی غنچهٔ امکان
خدنگ خیل تو شاها ستارها پیکان بود
چنین که خیل تو دندان نمود دشمن را
ستاره وار از ان کرد با حسود قران
برون شود مزهٔ تلخش از بن دندان
ازین مصاف مخالف چو کوه آهن رفت
عدو ز شومئی بیداد خیزه شد ور نی
ز بسکه ماندش اندر دل و جگر پیکان
بپای خویش کس آید چنین بگورستان؟
ببلخ جانش چون پای در رکاب آورد
ببلخ طوطی الحق عظیم یافت قرار
ز خوف جان بسوی مرو تافت باز عنان
که جغد را طمع افتاد آشیان و مکان
مخالف ارچه بمرو است جان بشاه دهد
حسود جغد صفت بلخ را چه خواهد کرد؟
که شهر مرو ازین روی شد همی شهجان
چو کرد جملهٔ ویرانش عدلت آبادان
سرون مثال بخود بر عدو همی پیچد
چو حمله آورد از حصن هندوان سپهت
همین بود ـ چو سر و بن ندارد از خذلان
چو چشم ترکان بر خصم تنگ گشت جهان

In the *Rahatu's-Sudur* (p. 183), Tuti Beg is mentioned as one of the Ghuzz leaders amongst whom Sultan Sinjar was a captive between Jumada I 548 A. H. (Ibnu'l-Athir XI. 119) and Safar 551 A. H.[3]

چه سودا از ان رخ پر چین همچو سوهانش
بنام او چو اجل میزند سنان[2] سوهان
و با جمله بلاد خراسان غزان همین
فلک خضاب سیه روز خصم را کرد است
که شد بگیتی اقبال شهریار جوان

[1] Obviously زامن Bahar's MS. رامن Nafisi's راحین

[2] *i. e.* سنان را به سوهان

[3] *Texts*, pp. 27-28 :—

این نامه بملک نیمروز تاج‌الدین ابوالفضل نصر بن خلف السجزی نویسد ـ در استدعای او بمعاونت سلطان اعظم خلدالله ملکه ـ در اواخر ماه صفر که این دوست بحدود شهرستانه رسید.... هرچند حالی ذات مبارک خداوند عالم خلدالله ملکه از مضایق ظلمت و مواقف وحشت بسلامت بیرون آمده است و بقلعهٔ محروسهٔ ترمذ رسیده

معامله کردند مگر شهر هراه که بارهئی
محکم داشت نتوانستند ستد و سلطان
سنجر دو سال در میان ایشان ببود ـ اتفاق
افتاد که بدر بلخ شدند و بعضی از بندگان
خاص چون موبد ای ابه و جماعتی دیگر
با خدمت آمده بودند اما بی حضور امرای
غز قرقود و طوطی بگ در خدمت سلطان
نیارستندی رفت

In a letter sent by Atsiz after Sinjar had escaped from Ghuzz captivity and had reached Tirmidh (and therefore written between Safar 551 A. H.—the date of Sinjar's release —and 9 Jumada II 551 A. H.—the date of Atsiz's death)—Atsiz reproaches the great commander Nasiru'd-Din Abu Shuja' Tuti b. Ishaq b. al-Khidr with concentrating Ghuzz forces in the province of Balkh, because the sovereign, *i. e.*, Sinjar, having resumed his rule, whosoever tries to set up his own independent authority is a seditionist[1] :—

این نامه بجانب محروس امیر اسفهالار
اجل کبیر ناصرالدین ابو شجاع طوطی ابن
اسحاق ابن الخضر نویسد ـــ اکنون می باید
که جانب محروس زاده‌الله حراسة خبر دهد
که عزم حشم غز چیست ؟....اگر همه در
بلخ خواهند بود این حال از جاده خرد و
منهج ادب دور باشد چه خداوند عالم خلدالله
ملکه بر سریر سلطنت بسلامت نشست
کس را نرسد که در صمیم ممالک او بخلاف
او مقام کند

After 551 A. H. no reference to Tuti is available; but let us consider independently the fate of Balkh. During the reign of Il-Arslan b. Atsiz, 551-567 A. H., "Marv, Balkh and Sarakhs," says Barthold (*Turkestan*, p. 335), "were in the hands of the Ghuzz who recognized no superior authority but mentioned the dead Sinjar in the Khutbah." A little lower down, Barthold continues :— "The author of the *Ta'rikh-al-Khayrat* (Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4898 f. 162 a ?), quoting a contemporary of the event, Yusuf b. 'Abdu'llah Andkhudi, speaks of the pillage of Balkh and Andkhud by the Qara-Khitays in 560 A. H. It is very probable that this invasion was connected with the winter campaign of Qilij Tamghaj Khan Mas'ud of which an account is given by al-Katib as-Samarqandi."

The evidence about Ruknu'd-Din, Tuti and Balkh is now complete, and the general conclusion may be stated. Nasiru'd-Din Abu Shuja' Tuti b. Ishaq b. al-Khidr, the Ghuzz leader, who had concentrated his forces in Balkh in 551 A. H. between the months of Safar and Jumada II of that year, remained the *de facto* ruler of the city till the winter of 560 A. H. when, in response to Anwari's appeal sent through Kamalu'd-Din, a former minister of Sultan Sinjar, 100,000 Qara-Khanid and Qara-Khitay troops under Ruknu'd-Din crossed the frozen Oxus, laid siege to Balkh, and took it after a charge made from the Handawan fortress. Balkh was

[1] *Texts*, pp. 28-29.

pillaged but Tuti escaped with his life to Marv "of the soul of the king" —Marva'sh-Shahijan, Great Marv.[1]

According to Anwari, Sinjar used to call Ruknu'd-Din by the title of "son." Curiously the homonymous Ruknu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Burhan-u'l-Islam wa'l-Muslimin Abu'l-Muzaffar Tamghaj Bughra Khan Ibrahim b. Bughra Khan Sulaymantigin, who ruled for a short time after 524 A. H. is also called by the same title in an official letter of Sinjar.[2]

Ruknu'd-Din repaired in 560 A. H. the city walls of Bukhara destroyed by the Ghuzz in 538 A. H. It appears also that he circulated paper-money and that complainants in his time wore paper dress. Says Radiu'd-Din :—

غیاث ملت طمغاج خان شه دوران
که سر ستاند از انکشی نمی نهد گردن
زر از کفت متظلم شد زین قبلست
که کاغذین بودش گاه گاه پیراهن

The redress of the nation, Ṭamghāj Khān, King of the World,
who cuts off the head of every stiff-necked rebel...
Gold hath become a complainant of thy generosity, wherefore it appears at times in a paper dress.

THE REIGN OF JALALU'D-DIN II

Ruknu'd-Din was succeeded by Jalalu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Qilij Tamghaj Khan Ibrahim b. al-Husayn. Mirza Muhammad, in Sharafu'd-Din Husam b. Abi Bakr an-Nasafi's ode, cited in Vol. I, p. 166, of the *Lubabu'l-Albab*, erroneously identifies him with his predecessor (*Lubabu'l-Albab* I, p. 377) and Dr. Nizamu'd-Din, p. 189 of 'Awfi's *Jawami'u'l-Hikayat* in "the story of Amir Rashid, the *qawwal*, who tries to outwit Mahmud, the musician, at the court of the Sultan Qilij Arslan Ibrahim ibnu'l-Husayn" erroneously identifies him with his successor. No Qara-Khanid ruler of the name of Arslan Ibrahim ibnu'l-Husayn is known and 'Awfi's text should be read : "Sultan Qilij Arslan [-i-] Ibrahim ibnu'l-Husayn."

Dr. Nizamu'd-Din has also wrongly identified Jalalu'd-Din with "the great Tamghaj Khan the ruler of Samarqand who prevented a rise in the price of meat" (See *Jawami'u'l-Hikayat* under Jalalu'd-Din Ibrahim b.Husayn Tamghaj Khan Qilij Arslan of Samarqand, Sultan, Ilak Khan, and p. 155 of the text) : this error is obviously an oversight ; in Barthold's *Turkestan*, which has been utilized by Dr. Nizamu'd-Din, the story is correctly referred to Abu Ishaq Tamghaj Khan Ibrahim Buri-tagin (d. 440 A. H.) b. Nasr. As has already been mentioned, Tamghaj

[1] To distinguish it from Little Marv—Marv a'r-Rud.

[2] *Texts*, p. 24 :—

خاقان اعظم عادل موید فرزند اعز رکن‌الدنیا والدین برهان‌الاسلام والمسلمین ابوالمظفر طمغاج بغرا خان ابراهیم بن سلیمان ادام‌الله دولته که فرزند و پروردهٔ ماست.... بر سریر ملک ترکستان نصب فرمودیم

Khan by itself has no identification-value and Dr. Nizamu'd-Din's identification of the Tamghaj Khan of Kashghar (who with the help of Khidr Beg defeated the Khan of Chin called the son of Sawaji) with Jalalu'd-Din Tamghaj Khan (See index under the name of this ruler and p. 222 of the text) seems to me to be purely arbitrary.

"Coins with Ibrahim's name," says Barthold, "were struck first of all at Uzgand as early as 560 when his predecessor was still reigning; in Samarqand his coinage begins from 574 and extends to 595. There is a coin of his minted at Bukhara in 597."[1] When 'Awfi visited Samarqand in Rajab 597 A. H. he was still living[2]: 'Awfi calls him "Sultan of Samarqand" and praises him for his calligraphy and piety but gives no historical details. He made his living chiefly by the sale of copies of the *Holy Qur'an* transcribed by him and was once smitten with remorse for not listening to the complaint of a peasant. (*Jawami'u'l-Hikayat*, Nizamu'd-Din's text, p. 160) In his early youth Ibrahim composed quatrains of which 'Awfi cites an example, and to perpetuate his name he built a magnificent palace at Samarqand in the Gurjmin or Karjumin quarter. (*Jawami'u'l-Hikayat*, Pt. I, Ch. X, Anecdote 30)[3]

During Ibrahim's reign Bukhara was conquered by Takish[4] Khwarazmshah as is mentioned (i) in an official letter of Takish (*Texts*, pp. 76-77) and (ii) in Ibnu'l-Athir. According to the official letter, a band of miscreants and apostates had strengthened themselves in Bukhara; the armies of Takish crossed the Oxus, stormed the city walls or citadel and were about to plunder the town when the Khwarazmshah stayed their hands. This was on Tuesday the 12th of the month. (The year and the name of the month are unspecified.) At nightfall the commander of the citadel and over a thousand of his men attempted a sally but the entire party was captured and admitted the next morning to a general pardon. According to Ibnu'l-Athir's version, mentioned under the year 594 A. H., the siege of Bukhara was necessitated by the campaign of Takish against the Qara-Khitays, for Bukhara remained faithful to the Qara-Khitays and had consequently to be taken by assault. And though the garrison had insulted

[1] *Turkestan*, p. 353.

[2] *Lubabu'l-Albab*, I, p. 44.

[3] وقتی سلطان طمغاج خان ابراهیم بن الحسن [read حسین] رحمة‌الله علیه
که سلطان سمرقند بود خواست که در محلت کرجمین قصر بنا کند، مدتی در آن کرد
و آن عمارت بوجهی میپرداخت که مثل آن کس نشان نداد است و همه روز بر سر آن
بنا ایستاده بودی و مزدوران را کار میفرمودی و پیوسته گفتی که مرد معمار دراز
عمر بود و معنی این سخن آنست که یعنی اثر او دیر ماند چنانکه تجمل و مکنت و
پادشاهی و خزاین و دفاین از اسکندر مناره ماندست و از کسری ایوانی

[4] See my *Falaki*, 1929, p. 32.

Takish by dressing a one-eyed dog in a caftan and high peaked cap and exhibiting it as Sultan Takish, nevertheless Takish spared the city and even distributed money amongst the inhabitants. Barthold concludes (i) that Takish did not take Bukhara twice over (*Turkestan*, p. 346), (ii) that Ibnu'l-Athir's account contains grave errors arising from unanalyzed contradictory statements of his sources, p. 345, and (iii) that Bukhara was conquered either on 12 Muharram 578 A. H. or 11 Jumada II 578 A. H. (the difference of one day—since the official letter says Tuesday 12th of the month—being often met with in Muslim chronology). Now though both years—578 A. H. of Barthold and 594 A. H. of Ibnu'l-Athir—fall within Ibrahim's reign (574—*c.* 597 A. H.), the earlier date agrees better with 'Awfi's remarks : "When Jalalu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Qilij Tamghaj Khan Ibrahim ibnu'l-Husayn ascended the throne of Samarqand there arose seditious tumults on all sides." (*Lubabu'l-Albab*, I. 42) :—

و در آن وقت که بر تخت ملک سمرقند
نشست از اطراف و جوانب فتنها برخاسته
بود، امام شمس‌الدین ولوالجی او را رباعی
گفت

شاهی که ازو شیر فلک را بیم است
خسرو فر و رستم دل و جم تعظیم است
ای دیو ستم رو که سلیمان آمد
وای آتش فتنه هین که ابراهیم است

Jalalu'd-Din Ibrahim had at least three sons : one of them, according to Radiu'd-Din (Ode XI) was accidentally drowned in his father's lifetime in the Oxus :—

فراخ بزل شهنشاه زاده آن شاهی
که تنگ بود جهان را ز خیل او هامون
غریق گشت برودی درون که هر چشمی
شد است از ان رود امروز رشک صد جیحون

,,

حذر نکرد سپهر دلیر از شاهی
که تیغ اوست بتسکین فتنها مفتون
جلال دولت طمغاج خان که تابع اوست
همیشه طالع مسعود و طایر میمون
خدایگانی کز عدل او امروز
بعالم اندر یک ربع نیست نامسکون
ز باغ دولت او برد چرخ تازه گلی
که اشک صدر جهان شد ز درد او گلگون
چگونه صدر زمانه قرین غم نبود
چو هست قدر وی از شاه با فلک مقرون

The sadr mentioned in the threnody is Burhanu'l-Islam Taju'd-Din 'Umar b. Mas'ud b. Taju'l-Islam Ahmad b. Burhanu'd-Din 'Abdu'l-'Aziz b. Mazah (panegyrist and threnodist of Ibrahim b. Husayn), who taught 'Awfi the Fa'iq of az-Zamakhshari. (*Lubabu'l-Albab*, I. 170) Odes and obituary notices written by the sadr in honour of Ibrahim b. Husayn are cited by 'Awfi. (*Idem*, pp. 170-172)

Of the other two sons, the younger is mentioned as a hostage at the court of Muhammad Khwarazmshah in 608 A. H.,[1] and the elder, who succeeded Ibrahim, was 'Usman the last Qara-Khanid ruler, who died a

[1] Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 365.

violent death in 609 A. H., as will be seen hereafter.

At the court of Ibrahim b. Husayn there flourished, in addition to Radiu'd-Din, the physician Sharafu'z-Zaman Majdu'd-Din Muhammad b. 'Adnan as-Surkhakati, 'Awfi's maternal uncle, whose *History of Khitay* (dealing with the emperors of Khitay) and *History of Turkestan* (dealing with the Turkish peoples, former Turkish emperors and the marvels of Turkestan)—both written for Ibrahim b. Husayn—have unfortunately perished.[1]

THE REIGN OF NUSRATU'D-DIN

Nusratu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Qilij Arslan Khaqan 'Usman b. Ibrahim was born in 582 or 583 A. H.: when 'Awfi met him during his father's lifetime at Samarqand in Rajab 597 A. H. he was not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age and was exceedingly handsome. The facts of 'Usman's reign are difficult to arrange chronologically, for Juwayni contradicts himself, 'Awfi and Radiu'd-Din say little or nothing, and Ibnu'l-Athir and Mirkhwand agree only to differ with Juwayni. The sequence of events as here presented is therefore tentative.

'Usman was reigning in 601 A. H. when he appeared as the defender of Gurganj on behalf of Muhammad Khwarazmshah against Shihabu'd-Din the Ghurid. Later, when Shihabu'd-Din had been defeated by the Qara-Khitays under Tayanku-Taraz near Andkhud, 'Usman interceded on Shihabu'd-Din's behalf (for as a Muslim he did not wish to see the Sulṭān of Islām a prisoner of the infidels) and his intercession was successful.

'Usman is next mentioned during Muhammad Khwarazmshah's campaign against the Qara-Khitays. Resenting the Gur Khan's refusal to bestow upon him his daughter, 'Usman enrolled himself on the side of the Khwarazmshah whose name he introduced in the coinage and Khutbah. Muhammad Khwarazmshah occupied Bukhara, fortified Samarqand, and marched against the Qara-Khitays whom he defeated on the plain of Ilamish. The dates given by Mirkhwand and Juwayni are 606 A. H.[2] and Rabi' I 607 A. H.[3] respectively, but according to Ibnu'l-Athir[4] the battle was fought in 604 A. H. and ended unfavourably for Muhammad Khwarazmshah and his ally 'Usman. According to the continuator of Narshakhy, Bukhara was occupied by Muhammad Khwarazmshah in 604 A. H.

The Gur Khan, however, still regarded Samarqand as his protectorate and to meet the menace of the Naiman prince Kuchluk solicited 'Usman's help. And as 'Usman refused this help (because the Gur Khan had previously refused him his daughter) Samarqand was occupied

[1] *Idem*, p. 17.

[2] *Turkestan*, p. 356.

[3] II. 77.

[4] XII. 171-175.

by a Qara-Khitay division of 30,000 men *c.* 607 A. H.[1] The Gur Khan had no desire to be vindictive; he levied a small tribute and after giving his daughter to 'Usman in marriage, withdrew his troops for service against Kuchluk. His departure brought the Khwarazmshah to Bukhara. 'Usman changed sides once again, joined the Khwarazmshah, and the allies marched to Taraz and fought an indecisive battle with the Qara-Khitays in which Tayanku was taken prisoner. The Muslim alliance thus established in the field was further strengthened at Gurganj by 'Usman's marriage to Khan-sultan, the daughter of the Khwarazmshah.

'Usman's second marriage proved ruinous. In accordance with Turkish custom he was detained a whole year at the bride's house and when Muhammad Khwarazmshah arrived alone at Samarqand in 608 A. H. to resume the campaign against the Qara-Khitays he found himself in a hostile city which was interpreting the observance of Turkish etiquette as a thin disguise for the Khan's imprisonment. Accordingly Muhammad Khwarazmshah ordered 'Usman and his bride to be sent over and himself returned to Khwarazm.

On arrival at Samarqand 'Usman yielded to the wishes of his subjects and renewed his alliance with the Qara-Khitays. Khan-sultan, who was ill-treated and even obliged to wait on her rival—the Qara-Khitay princess—fled to the citadel. 'Usman consented to spare her but at his suggestion the Khwarazmian inhabitants of Samarqand were slaughtered "and their bodies hung up in the streets as butchers hang meat." Thereupon Muhammad Khwarazmshah took a fearful vengeance: the city of Samarqand was given over to a three-day sack; 10,000 men according to Juwayni (Ibnu'l-Athir says 200,000 men) were destroyed and the Qara-Khanids exterminated. 'Usman appeared before the Khwarazmshah in complete submission—with a sword and a piece of cloth for a shroud—and would probably have been allowed to live, but Khan-sultan, void and empty of any dram of mercy, insisted on her husband's death and so he was executed on the following night. And this was the end of 'Usman, "the martyr," in the year 609 A. H.

HADI HASAN

[1] *Turkestan*, p. 363.

CHRISTIANITY IN ENGLAND

[The picture which the **Rev. Leslie Belton** a thoughtful Unitarian minister well known to ARYAN PATH readers, draws of the awakening in the English churches in his two articles, the first of which we publish here, is on the whole encouraging, however dubious one may feel of the ability of the leopard to effect a lasting change in his spots. The reported *rapprochement* of men of differing faiths is a hopeful sign, as are the shift of blame from God to man, which Mr. Belton has observed, and the insistence that conditions must be bettered. Most dangerous of sops to Cerberus, however, would be the liberal theologians' evolving of a doctrine of divine forgiveness, as Mr. Belton suggests. Law is not mocked and, furthermore, until a juster social and economic order is established, the heavy sense of the shared guilt of exploitation is a most necessary spur.—ED.]

I.—SIN AND SOCIALISM

Never in their history have the churches been so sparsely attended, even allowing for war-time conditions, as they are today. Only a National Day of Prayer or some great emergency brings the people flocking to church. Yet it would be wrong to assume a general lack of concern with religious and ethical questions. The contrary seems to be true: large sections of the public, many of whom have rarely engaged in religious observance, are manifestly interested in these questions and the more astute among them seem to be waiting to see what the churches will do. Is the Church irremediably tradition-bound, they ask, or is it capable of seeking new fields of service and of creating new forms of expression more consonant with the modern outlook?

That is the kind of question they are asking, while the churchman, on his part, insists that the Church's task is to lead and command, not to bow to passing moods or modify its message at the critics' behest. Yet if it is true that a spiritual ferment is at work among the people, it is obviously the Church's task and opportunity to use and direct it. Everything depends upon *how* it is used and directed. The churches will fail if they seek to use it in order to preserve their tradition and increase their power; they may succeed if they use it for the creation of a living and rational faith. *It may be that the churches must die to live.*

The heavy incubus of tradition and privilege makes success at first sight improbable. Signs are not lacking that church leaders are aware of the needs of the hour and ready to meet them; they have the will, not always the inspiration.

Critical observers sometimes fail to realise that the old jibe about

priests *imposing* their religion on the people is wholly untrue today, at least so far as Protestantism is concerned. Even of the Church of England it is unfair to say that it is wholly governed by a clerical caste ; of the Free Churches (Nonconformity) it is completely untrue. The Free Churches are democratically administered and their salaried leaders are ministers, not priests. To characterise them as clerics who wish to impose their authority on the people is totally to misconceive their vocation. It is one of the most singular and one of the most hopeful signs in British Christianity today that professional ministers of religion are, broadly speaking, in advance of the lay-members of their congregations, theologically and sociologically. The spiritual ferment is as actively at work among them as it is among the more thoughtful sections of the unchurched masses.

A crucial question is: will this current interest in religion be directed towards the strengthening of orthodoxy or the renewal and enrichment of liberalism ? Will it induce a new escapist faith (always likely in war time) or will it socialise religion ? Will it associate itself with outworn mythologies and exclusive revelations or with new insights born of the turmoil of these times ?

According to Professor C. E. M. Joad, the generation which has grown to maturity since the last war is suffering from spiritual starvation, "a repressed will to believe" ; they are realising that man has spiritual as well as bodily needs but for the most part they cannot accept the traditional doctrines of the churches. Our society is sick and we are at last discovering that the cure for this sickness lies fundamentally not in politics or economics but in ethics and religion. A spiritual vacuum waits to be filled. Can the churches fill it ?

This diagnosis, as here briefly restated, has the merits and faults of a Joadian generalisation. While it may be true that many people are suffering from "a fund of unexpended seriousness," it is not true to say, at least it is not the whole truth, that men and women are spiritually starved because their intelligence revolts against the creeds of the churches. That may be true of some members of the intellectual elite but it is not true of the majority of the people who care very little for any theology, philosophy or church. Other causes, besides the intellectual one, are operative here. It is, however, a fair assumption that many thoughtful people are now realising as never before, that (as Dr. Joad puts it) "the sickness of our society is the expression of a sickness in ourselves." In other words, one of the characteristics of our time is a renewal of emphasis on the doctrine of sin.

In a time of trouble it is perhaps natural and inevitable that men should reflect on the problem of evil. Such reflection was markedly characteristic of Christian thinking during the Four Years' War. It is

no less marked today but with a singular shift of accent. The accent during the last war was on God. Why, it was asked, does God allow the horrors of war? That question is being re-formulated today, with the emphasis on Man. Why, it is said, is man so faithless that he persistently disobeys the laws of God; why is he so impotent to curb the pull of the savage within him; why does man misapply his skill and imperil his civilisation by engaging in the horrors of war? *War is seen not as God's punishment for human sin but as man's failure to control his life and use his opportunities.* Awareness of this failure engenders a cramping sense of frustration. Idealism has run to waste. A vast fund of idealism and planning went to the shaping of the League of Nations. The League failed, like numberless other plans. Why did it fail? Why this impotency? The question is implicit in Sir Alfred Zimmern's admission that the history of the past twenty-five years has revived his belief in human sin, and in Mr. H. G. Wells's bitter recoil from his former utopianism in the face of the foul deeds of latter-day barbarians.

Another cause of the new emphasis probably lies in the filtering through into the consciousness of men and women of all stations and types of the disclosures of the Freudian and similar psychologists which assure us that the human psyche is less rational than it had thought itself. Not intellect and will, but emotionalised instinct is the principal drive behind human action. This impulsive power within the man is amoral and egoistic. Out of this awareness, and out of the clash of ego-desires with the demands of civilised living, there arises a sense of guilt, or, as the theologian describes it, a consciousness of sin. Thus psychology provides a modern equivalent of the doctrine of original sin, with this difference—that the way of salvation now lies not through acceptance of a superhuman Saviour but through self-integration which comes of submitting the life-energies (libido) to some master-end.

Theologically, this emphasis on the pervasiveness of guilt needs to be set within the framework of a doctrine of divine forgiveness, a task which the more liberal theologians, who react against individualistic theories of atonement, have yet to assume if the narrower evangelicalism is not to regain its hold over people's minds.

This reversion to the idea of original sin is itself a sign and outcome of another feature of the contemporary scene to which we would call attention, the uprising of the old orthodoxy in a revised form, implying a reaction, more marked in theology than in religion, from religious liberalism. (This aspect of our survey will be touched on in a second article.) In one particular at least avowed liberals themselves share in the reaction against the liberalism-that-was. Nineteenth-century Christianity was predominantly individualistic. Evangelicalism was concerned with the

saving of souls one by one, a worthy motive as far as it went (though it resulted all too often in self-righteousness and intolerance) but a motive which took small account of the depressive effects of a social system which virtually condemned millions to penury and economic slavery. The liberal's gospel was scarcely less narrowly individualistic than the evangelical's. It rejected the notion of original sin, and the salvationist theology built upon it, in favour of a doctrine of progressive redemption, but it offered no effective protest against a social order dominated by wealth and power. The insistence in recent years on what is now called the "social gospel," representing the working out of Christian ethics in terms of the community, is one of the most hopeful signs of the times, a development which is more likely than any other to strengthen the churches' waning influence.

The churches—so runs the charge—have identified themselves too consistently with the political and economic *status quo*, ignoring the demand for economic security and a more equitable apportionment of the nation's wealth. Because of this, people have turned to Marxism or (before the war) to Fascism, to amend the Church's default. The charge, however, is not altogether a fair one. It is true that some branches of the Christian Church are too deeply involved in State connections to shake themselves free, short of declaring for disestablishment. The Protestant Free Churches, however, have nothing to gain, either in power or prestige, by accommodating their message to the pattern of any political creed. From their ranks—from the ranks, indeed, of all the churches—there is arising a gathering company, varyingly revolutionary in method and aim, strongly convinced of their social responsibility and sensitively aware that "guilt" has communal as well as personal implications. We *are* our brother's keeper; our task is to befriend our brother not simply by ameliorating his lot within the system that degrades him but by recasting the system itself in the light of spiritual insights and needs.

To this end a great conference on "Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship" was organised soon after the close of the Four Years' War. To this end also, the memorable international and inter-church conference on "Church, Community and State," which met at Oxford in 1937, exerted a powerful influence on social thinking. The searching character of its report on the Economic Order is reflected in later, wartime developments, such as the Church of England's Malvern pronouncements and the statement on "Social Justice and Economic Reconstruction" issued by a joint Commission of the Churches.

Considerations of space preclude a summary of the findings and proposals of this statement and of others, of which the most radical is probably that of Sir Richard Acland's

Forward-March movement. Says Sir Richard :—

It is our Christian duty earnestly to seek now for an order of society in which the shares and documents of title in our great resources shall cease to be owned by private individuals. This is essential, not as an end economically desirable in itself, but as an indispensable means towards ends which are desirable on moral and spiritual grounds.

Behind this utterance, whether we agree with its proposal or not, lies a regenerated will to make brotherhood more real by effacing the ugliest stains, and the extreme inequalities, from our common life. Recalcitrants still exist; " big business " will strive again for power when the war is over. This we admit, while affirming that it is simply not true,— not true, that is, of the vast majority of the people of the British Isles— that they want " the world as it was before Germany started the war. " (Shri Subedar, as quoted in " Ends and Sayings," THE ARYAN PATH December, 1941.) This is precisely what the British people do not want and from which they pray to be delivered. It is to prevent this and to lay the foundations of a saner world-order and of a community-life more richly informed by ethical values that groups of people owning diverse allegiances are working together as never before, breaking down barriers which once seemed insurmountable. They may not succeed ; they may succeed only in part; but their will to succeed and the sincerity of their purpose cannot be denied.

LESLIE BELTON

COMMUNAL UNITY

Unity and tolerance are natural to Indians, Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao declared in a speech at Amraoti on the 7th of September, in the course of which, *The Hindu* reports, he stressed unity as second only to self-discipline as a requisite for freedom. Every page of India's early history, he declared, proclaimed tolerance as our distinguishing feature. " Disunity is alien to our genius."

> The two great communities, Hindus and Muslims, live in perfect amity and cordial relations subsist between them except where they are disturbed by perverted politics. Do not believe the statement that Hindus and Muslims are by nature opposed to each other and must so remain opposed. On the contrary, the tradition of tolerance has, as I have said, deep roots in our very consciousness.

Our villages are the standing proof of this, as Sir Jogendra Singh brought out on the 24th of September when he reminded the Council of State of the millions of our country who desire peace,

> whose hearts throb in unison in thousands of villages, who are aware that all religions teach that concord is a blessing and discord a curse, who, in spite of preachings which have been raging in full blast, have lived for centuries and live now as good neighbours.

But Sir Venkatasubba Rao might have gone further. Are not unity and tolerance the distinguishing characteristics of man as a human being ?

FOLK-SONGS, LEGENDS AND MYSTICISM

[This is the third in the series of **Shri Devendra Satyarthi's** articles.—ED.]

III.—THE MAN OF THE HEART

Says Rabindranath Tagore :—

To detach the individual idea from its confinement of everyday facts and give its soaring wings the freedom of the universal: this is the function of poetry.[1]

The mystic, like a true poet, finds harmony in the truth, which has obviously no dimensions like the facts of everyday life, but which comprehends God's script, not in the dogmas of prejudice-ridden religion, but in the "mystery of unity" running through the heart of creation and his own throbbing heart. That God is everywhere and that everything is God, the original idea of pantheism, goes a long way towards the conception of creative unity—an illumination that is mysticism.

A mystic of mediæval India, who compared himself to a song-bird, tells us about the birth of his songs, the offspring of his inspiration, in a poem translated by Rabindranath Tagore :—

Where were your songs, my bird,
When you spent your nights in the nest ?
Was not all your pleasure stored therein ?
What makes you lose your heart to the sky,
the sky that is limitless ?
I had my pleasure while I rested within bounds.
When I soared into the limitless,
I found my songs ![2]

In mystic mood, the Munda tribesman in Chhota Nagpur compares his soul to a bird when he sings: "O bird, where did you mark the golden land, O bird ?" He thinks, musing, of God's love as a region where gold is found ; he is poor ; sooner or later, he hopes, the dove will find out the rich land.

"O Green Diwali,"[3] a Gond folk-song, symbolizes the soul as a swan :—

O green Diwali ! O green Diwali !
We shall meet, at Diwali we shall meet.
And if we die, our spirits will meet.
The swan will not remain though you tempt him with costly pearls.
He longs for his own country.
O Diwali ! O green Diwali !

The Gond, though more at home with love-songs instinct with the breath of the forest and with his immemorial dances, has also his mystic moods. "Life burns like a lamp," he will sing :—

My life is burning like a lamp, O it is burning like a lamp ! What kind of lamp is this ? What kind of oil is burnt ? What kind of wick is this ?[4]

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[1] *Creative Unity*, p. 41.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *The Seoni Gazetteer.* The words here are readjusted slightly. The Editor calls it a song of the Ahirs.
[4] *Songs of the Forest : The Folk-Poetry of the Gonds.* By SHAMRAO HIVALE and VERRIER ELWIN. With a Foreword by SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London), p. 136.

God remembers him, he is sure :—

What care I if all men scorn me, if God remembers me ? This life is very precious, for hardly it can be created. God alone can make it.[1]

In one fragment after another he brings in love for God :—

Your mouth is given you for speech, and both your eyes to look on God.[2]

Almost all his musings belong to his songs ; he does not ask " Why do I die ? " " He meets a tiger and says, ' It is so written in the Book of Fate that I should die. ' "[3] Like a forest-tree, he persists, he sings again :—

Plant ten Kachnar trees for flowers. In a garden set the *Tulsi*. Water them unweariedly, but they will always wither. But the trees in the forest, which depend on God alone, never wither and die. The forest trees grow always.[4]

At morn and eve he sings, and the lively airs of his rhythmic songs suddenly speak of death ; in his traditional store of songs you may meet with a rare flash, as for instance :—

The bed says to the carpenter, do not make me, for if you do, to-morrow or the day after, they will carry you upon me to your grave. And there will be no one to help you. The pick says to its proud maker, do not make me, for to-morrow or the day after, they will use me to dig your grave, and there will be no one to help you. The cloth says to the weaver, do not weave me, for to-morrow or the day after, I will be your shroud. And there will be no one to help you.[5]

But death is no check to his *onward journey* :—

Sickness has come to the village. From every house they have carried out a corpse. Do not weep, my sisters, do not weep. Comfort your hearts. After this life of two days is past, we must travel onward alone. And every one must tread the same path. You may turn your clothes into paper, and write many books and read them, but no one can read his fate. So quietly take the name of God, for when this life of two days is over, we must journey onward alone.[6]

Thus does the folk mind run ahead to the " onward journey "— the journey after death.

As if beholding some faint, far-off silver lining to the cloud of life's ultimate reality, the folk mind is sure of its deliverance at the hands of the divine personality. I can mention here a folk-song that I have translated from the Hindi of the Allahabad countryside :—

You'll go, I know, my soul !
You'll go, I know !
Four girls together go
To the market-place, lo !
Each cleverer than the other !
Their needs they purchase ;
At heart they are dissatisfied
With their purchases ;
No more market !
That's their regret.
You'll go, I know, my soul !
You'll go, I know.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

Kings who rule will go !
Queens like Kamalapat, too !
Brahma, who reads the Veda, will go !
The learned ones, practising the *Yoga*, too !
You'll go, I know, my soul !
You'll go, I know !

The sun will go ! The moon will go !
The wind and the water, too !
Once again the earth will go !
The old process will be repeated !
You'll go, I know, my soul !
You'll go, I know !

Four elements make the cage ;
Not its own, the dweller in it !
Some Man, who'll look to it, will come !
Even without water will be drowned (the cage) !
You'll go, I know, my soul !
You'll go, I know !

The human body is compared to a *Rang mahal,* a pleasure palace ; the soul flies away one day like an indifferent lover. A folk-song from the United Provinces expresses this idea :—

I didn't quarrel !
My beloved is gone !
The pleasure palace has ten doors ;
Which window remained unshut,
I know not !
I didn't quarrel !
My beloved is gone !
Ye five women
Of my neighbourhood,
Didn't he leave
Some word with you ?
I didn't quarrel !
My beloved is gone !

"Permit me to inquire," asked a disciple of Confucius, "the nature of death." And Confucius aptly replied ; "How can we know the nature of death, when we do not understand the nature of life ?" What is life ? A symphony ; its joy is its harmony, its creative inspiration. As Rabindranath Tagore has put it :—

This great world, where it is a creation, an expression of the Infinite—where its morning sings of joy to the newly awakened life, and its evening stars sing to the traveller, weary and worn, of the triumph of life in a new birth across death—has its call for us.[1]

Yes, it is not after death but in life on earth that the mystic wants to seek the Divine Beloved. He builds his spiritual truth on the base of his suffering. He imagines that the Beloved will come to his hearth, poor and humble as it is ; *"Main ureekan kar rahi kadi a kar dera !"* (I wait and wait, O come sometime and encamp with me !), he sings with Bullhe Shah. Sorrow and evil persist ; they turn the human mind to the inner truth of life, its joy and its good. Suffering is the cornerstone of life, on which humanity is founded as on a firm rock. As Anatole France has observed,

Man is good because he suffers. He has derived everything, even his genius, from his pain....We must know how to suffer, and that the science of pain is the only science of life.[2]

[1] *Creative Unity*, pp. 26–7.
[2] *On Life and Letters*, First Series. (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London), pp. 295-6.

And when the Baul,[1] the mystic mendicant in Bengal, sings:—

Kothae pavo tare
Amar maner manush ye re ?
Harae shei manushe tar uddeshe :
Desh bideshe berai ghoore !

(O where shall I find Him,
That Man of my heart ?
Since I lost that Man
In search of Him
I wander from land to land !)

we know his pain, his longing. His idea of *Maner Manush*, or the Man of the heart,[2] comes to us like an echo from afar. For who is the Man of the heart but God ? He knows his *Man* not so much by knowledge as by a long, slow-growing instinct.

Once, at Santiniketan, I met a charming Baul, who sang in his silvery voice the age-old mystic songs to the accompaniment of his one-stringed instrument, the *ektara*. For long, he had kept his heart's door open, he told me ; sooner or later his Man must pay a visit, for some day He would not wish to remain a fugitive any longer.

The Baul speaks little but thinks much, and his words retain simplicity and sincerity. He feels much more than he understands : songs are his mother-tongue. Candour and faith are his wings. Now he smiles. Now he laughs. Mark the sudden ecstasy on his face. Now some hidden grief touches him. His eyes are swimming with tears. His body is instinct with certain rhythms. He dances as he sings ! He is a mendicant, first, last and always ; yet, in his inspired moments, he forgets that he is a beggar in patched flowing robes. His songs are winged !

Rabindranath Tagore has translated some Baul songs. Here are three of them from his *Creative Unity* :—

I

I stop and sit here on the road. Do not ask me to walk farther.
If your love can be complete without mine, let me turn back from seeing you.
I have been travelling to seek you, my friend, for long ;
Yet I refuse to beg sight of you, if you do not feel my need.
I am blind with market dust and midday glare, and so wait, my heart's lover, in hopes that your own love will send you to find me out.

2

It is lucky that I am an empty vessel,
For when you swim, I keep floating by your side.
Your full vessels are left on the empty shore, they are for use.
But I am carried to the river in your arms, and I dance to the rhythm of your heart-throbs and heaving of the waves.

3

My master's flute sounds in everything, drawing me from my house to everywhere.

[1] *Baul*, literally, madcap, is *Bavala* in Hindi and *Baola* in Punjabi, *Baul* being the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *Vatul*, according to the *Hindi Shabad Sagar* of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi. Prof. Kshitimohan Sen, the head of the Vidya Bhavan Department at Santiniketan, an authority on the mediæval Hindi mystics and Bauls, has contributed an article on the Bauls to RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S *Religion of Man*. *Haramani* (in Bengali) by M. MANSOORUDDIN gives a number of Baul songs.

[2] *Creative Unity*, pp. 78-9 : " 'The Man of my Heart,' to the Baul, is like a divine instrument perfectly tuned. He gives expression to infinite truth in the music of life...the longing for the truth which is in us, which we have not yet realised. "

While I listen to it I know that every step
I take is in my master's house.
For he is the sea, he is the river that leads
to the sea, and he is the landing-place.

Observes Rabindranath Tagore :—

The poet is fully conscious that his value in the world's market is pitifully small; that he is neither wealthy nor learned. Yet he has his great compensation, for he has come close to his Lover's heart. In Bengal the women bathing in the river often take their overturned water jars to keep themselves floating when they swim, and the poet uses this incident for his simile.[1] ...The great distinguished people of the world do not know that these beggars—deprived of education, honour and wealth—can, in the pride of their souls, look down upon them as the unfortunate ones, who are left on the shore for their worldly uses, but whose life ever misses the touch of the Lover's arms.[2]...The Bauls have a philosophy, which they call the philosophy of the body, but they keep its secret; it is only for the initiated. Evidently the underlying idea is that the individual's body is itself the temple, in whose mystic shrine the Divine appears before the soul, and the key to it has to be found from only those who know....This mystic philosophy of the body is the outcome of the attempt to get rid of all outside shelters which are too costly for people like themselves.[3]

God, in the Baul songs of Bengal, is obviously a *Lover*, whereas in the mystic folk-songs of the Punjab, as we have seen, man, putting himself in the rôle of a woman, seeks union with the *Beloved*.

The Baul sometimes sings of God as Father (*Bava*). I find it in one of the songs in my own collection. The son's ardent desire to meet the mysterious, fugitive *Father* is an eternal symbol of man's aspiration for what is beyond. With all the innocence of a child, when the Baul sings, the words laugh and weep on his lips. He cries for his Father. His mother, presumably the world, is there; his brothers and sisters too; they, perhaps, are not so eager to find the good old Father; singing of him with hope and with faith, the Baul goes in search of him. The song I am going to translate, far older than the Bauls of the present generation, is like a page from an autobiography :—

Whither has gone my father ?
Tell me, mother,
Whither has gone my father ?
Someone would say,
Father was the King !
Someone would say,
Father was the Cowherd !
Someone else, mother, tells me,
Father is drowned in the waters !
Someone else says again,
Father lives in the Fire !
Someone would say,
To father goes this way !
Now many saints have many views !
Tell me, mother,
Which way I should follow.
Mother tells me,
Father was just in our house !
Whither has gone my father ?
Tell me, mother,
Whither has gone my father ?
In constant search
I am spent !
Searching and searching,

[1] *Creative Unity*, p. 82.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

I have lost my road!
Gradually age overtakes
This my body, mother O!
Tell me, mother,
If you found father's trace O!
Mother tells me,
Father was just in our house!
Whither has gone my father?
Tell me, mother,
Whither has gone my father?

An innocent mysticism continually finds expression in the Baul songs. God is recognized as the *Music-Maker;* one song, presumably of Baul origin, recorded by Prof. Kshitimohan Sen,[1] which I will translate now and call "The Music-Maker, Flute and Breath," is sung from the fulness of the heart. The Baul finds himself in the capacity of the breath, sweet and sacred, that the Divine Singer puts into his flute; later on he forgets this idea and transforms himself into the Flute-Player; once again he returns to the simile of the Music-Maker's singing breath and the ending note retransforms him into the flute itself. We at once remember Shelley's famous line: "Make me thy lyre even as the forest is," or Tagore's "*Amare karo tomar veena, laho go laho toole!*" (Make me your *Veena;* pick me up, O pick me up!) So sings the old Baul, his face a pattern of wrinkles, his hair and beard haggard, but his eyes and feet yet remembering the old rhythms:—

Blessed am I,
Since in your flute,
Your own breath am I!
By your blowing but once,
Should I be spent wholly,
No sorrow to me!
Your flute is the triple world!
And your own breath am I!

Through holes, good and bad,
Music I make.
Both weal and woe I blow.
Music I make at morn:
Music I make at eve:
In the night's stillness music I make:
Music I make in spring:
And in rains, too, I sing!

As is your heart's desire,
In a single attempt,
Should I be spent wholly,
No sorrow to me!
To a tune so precious I have been played;
What more would I seek?

DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

When the sky is almost completely overcast, a ray of sunlight through a rift in the clouds illumines whatever spot it touches. The recent abolition of flogging in the State of Mysore is one such bright spot in the dark contemporary scene; the abolition of capital punishment in Holkar State, Indore, announced by H. H. the Maharaja on the 18th of August, is another.

[1] The song first appeared in *The Prabasi*. Professor Sen stated that he was told in the village of Eedalpur, Faridpur District, where he got the song, that there lived about one hundred years ago a man named Dudu Thakur who always sang it with redoubled gusto.

NEW BOOKS AND OLD

COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHY *

The author brings together here nearly a dozen papers contributed by him to journals like THE ARYAN PATH or read before learned bodies like the Indian Philosophical Congress. They deal not only with problems of a purely theoretical character, such as "time and eternity," but also with problems that have a direct bearing upon practical life, such as the "ethics of renunciation." But whatever their theme, the papers have certain characteristics in common to which we may briefly refer before proceeding further. The first thing that strikes a reader of this volume is the interest which its author evinces in Indian thought; it is no less keen than his interest in Western philosophy into the study of which, as indicated in the Preface, he was initiated earlier. Secondly, the treatment of questions here is comparative right through; and they are discussed, except in one case, from the stand-point of both Indian and Western thought. The comparing of two systems of thought so different in their origin and history may have its hazards; but it is almost inevitable in the conditions of higher study in present-day India. And it is not, we may add, without its value, if it does not end merely in finding similarities between the two systems but also extends, as here, to the eliciting of points of contrast. A third general characteristic of the papers is their clear and impressive style; the reader often comes across expressions which, by their aptness and felicity, fix themselves in his memory.

Of these papers as many as six treat of practical problems; and we may consider these together as all of them are concerned, in one form or another, with the same topic, *viz.*, the Hindu view of *karma*. They together give us a well-considered account not only of the doctrine of *karma* and the theory of transmigration underlying it, but also of the whole scheme of *varnasrama-dharmas* in their moral as well as their social bearing. Naturally the *Gita* finds a prominent place throughout these papers, for, though the conception of *dharma* is very much older, its significance to life, as it is at present understood, is entirely due to the teaching of that work.

The first paper of this group, which is also the longest in the book, treats of the *Gita* teaching of *nishkama-karma* or "disinterested action" and its social application. It points out how the *Gita* ideal of conduct, though described as "disinterested," is not negative. It may discountenance personal desires; but it does not exclude all motives, as is clear from its insistence upon the need for pursuing the ultimate aim of *moksha* or self-perfection. And this positive aim, again, is to be achieved through action and not inaction. Hence, as the author shows by his lucid explanation of the terms *nishkama* and *karma*, the *Gita* seeks neither to root out all desires nor to abolish all action.

* *Studies in Philosophy*. By M. A. VENKATA RAO, M. A. (Published by the Author, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Maharani's College, Bangalore. Rs. 5/- or 7*s*. 6*d*.)

But what is the exact nature of the activity it commends for reaching this final goal ? The answer is contained in the expression *svadharma*, which denotes chiefly the duties that devolve upon a person in virtue of the social environment into which he is born and the position he occupies in it. In other words, the way to self-perfection lies through devotion to social duty. It is thus that the *Gita* finds a place for social service in the discipline of life.

We have stated but the central argument of this paper; and that, in its barest outline. There are several other points discussed in it. In fact, it is so comprehensive that all the remaining papers of the group may be looked upon as only amplifying the ideas contained in it. Still we may make a passing reference to three of them, which deal with the subject in express relation to Western thought. One explains the conditions which, according to Kant, are presupposed in all moral experience, and shows how the significance of these "postulates of morality," *viz.*, freedom, immortality and God, is revealed in a fuller and more consistent form in the *karma* doctrine. Another examines the Christian belief in immortality, and points out that the arbitrary assumptions on which it rests, *e. g.*, that souls are created and that a single life is sufficient to finally determine their destiny, can be avoided by adopting the theory of transmigration. In this connection, the author also considers at length and confutes the arguments commonly urged against the hypothesis of rebirth, such as man's lack of all recollection of the lives through which it supposes him to have passed. The third explains the striking resemblance between the *Gita* conception of *svadharma* and Bradley's famous idea of "my station and its duties." The parallelism is so close, it says, that Bradley's exposition of this topic may be described as "an unconscious commentary on the *Gita*."

The other studies included here are equally interesting; but, in a short review like this, it is not possible to refer to them all. We shall therefore content ourselves with making a few observations on one, *viz.*, the last in the volume. It bears the title of "Æsthetics in India" and, together with the two appendices that are reprints of book reviews, gives in a nutshell what is known as "the theory of *rasa*," which is the best of the Indian theories of fine art and contains the most valuable contribution of India to general Æsthetics. The word *rasa* stands for the aim of art and signifies a form of experience which is marked by a complete forgetfulness of the self; its essence is joy, which is represented as akin to joy divine. The theory is here set forth in terms of modern psychology, which is a great help to readers not acquainted with Sanskrit, in comprehending it. We have noticed some minor points that may need reconsideration. For instance, it may not be altogether right to represent the Dvaita idea of *visesha* as "a power" (p. 144), for it is taken in the doctrine to characterise not only positive entities but also non-existence (*abhava*). To give another example, the Sankhya holds, like the Mimamsa, that the Veda is *apourusheya* and not *pourusheya*, as stated here (p. 168). But such points are only a few. The book, as a whole, is replete with carefully thought-out and well-expressed ideas, and it deserves to be widely read.

M. HIRIYANNA

MODERN INDIA *

It is not possible to do justice to modern India's ethical ideals in something less than forty pages. Therefore, Dr. Thompson has wisely focused his camera on the field of politics, and has given us a limited but clear picture. He concerns himself with five great leaders of Indian thought: Roy, Gandhi, Tagore, Iqbal and Nehru, with all of whom he claims to have enjoyed personal friendship. In the case of Roy, who died in 1833, this claim must be a slip of the pen, unless Dr. Thompson is considerably older than he looks!

"The hidden survival of Buddhist doctrine in India" runs like a silver thread through the lecture, binding the idealism of the five personalities together. The speaker tells us that Gandhi has sometimes cited the Buddha's example to close friends, and he recalls Gotama's words in those of Iqbal. Some may be surprised at his reference to Nehru in this connection :—

> It has been said of the Buddha that no man ever lived more godless yet more godlike. No man ever lived more ethical than Jawaharlal Nehru, though he lives without religious creed.

Dr. Thompson stresses that Gandhi and Nehru were spiritually roused, like the Buddha, by the sight of humiliation and misery. He attributes the Mahatma's non-violence to his grim experiences of "the fierce ruthless vigour of the white races" in South Africa and India. And he observes with uncommon insight :—

> The ideas which have changed the thought of whole peoples have usually been born thus, not in a palace or chancellery but in a stable or the ward of a hospital or the cell of a prison. And about an ethical idea there is something so mastering and imperious, that unless you are prepared to have your whole life and outlook revolutionized you had better not even look at it. For these ideas have a habit of ending by claiming all.

In spite of this, the speaker has come to the conclusion that the political value of non-violence in India is finished. His criticism, however, suggests that he has misunderstood the Mahatma's views. Tagore was nearer a just criticism when he said that non-violence, like every other moral principle, has to spring from depth of mind, and it must not be forced upon man from some outside appeal of urgent need. It should primarily be practised for the sake of spiritual perfection and not for the attainment of some immediate success in politics.

The politics of poets are apt to be elusive, but the lecturer catches and conveys the spirit of Tagore and Iqbal admirably. The pages on these two will repay careful reading. He has not been so successful in bringing Roy to life.

Surely Dr. Thompson is wrong in supposing that the influence of Buddhist teaching in contemporary India has never been investigated. He should read his ARYAN PATH more closely. But we will not carp at small blemishes. His lecture is full of erudite expositions that hold the interest. Indians and British alike are in debt to him for the valuable work which he has done to tie what Nehru called those "silken bonds of the spirit between Britain and India," now so sadly broken. While there are men of courage and good faith like Dr. Thompson, there is still hope that the ethical ideals of East and West will, as Tagore believed, complete one another.

DENNIS STOLL

* *Ethical Ideals in India To-day.* Conway Memorial Lecture. By EDWARD THOMPSON. (C. A. Watts and Co., Ltd., London. 1s.)

Count Cagliostro. By MICHAEL HARRISON. (Rich and Cowan, Ltd., London. 18*s.*)

This is speculative biography, the author himself remembering that, in the case of Count Cagliostro, it is impossible to procure the testimony of unbiased witnesses. Of source material, Mr. Harrison lists the biography prepared under the auspices of the Inquisition; Cagliostro's own account of himself prepared under conditions such as make its acceptance subject to the utmost reservation; the effusions of Theveneau de Morande, a notorious blackmailer; a fabrication of the Marquis de Luchet; and the inevitable tittle-tattle of Court circles. It is no wonder that he is driven to say: "Anyhow, let us assume"! That, however, does not inhibit him from pronouncing judgment. In his view, Cagliostro was "possibly one of the most distinguished men in the annals of criminality." His reference to the Comte de St. Germain as "a most superior type of rogue" has an equally negative validity. And yet the author is anxious to testify to the undoubted possession by Cagliostro of certain psychic gifts:—

> Earlier historians have seen fit to dismiss with none but the most savage comment the pretensions of Balsamo to the possession of that power called clairvoyance. Fortunately, we live in an age in which the existence of such a faculty has been established, and those powers which seemed to earlier ages to be supernatural we now concede to be no more than extranormal. There can be no doubt that Balsamo was indeed one of those persons in whom the faculty of clairvoyance was singularly developed.

There is some evidence here of the far-off approach to the vindication of calumniated reputations!

It is difficult to subscribe to Mr. Harrison's opinions about occultism. He appears to have been influenced by the writings of Mrs. Nesta Webster, to whom anything savouring of the occult is naturally of the most sinister and subversive nature. He writes of the Germany of the eighteenth century as being steeped "in those principles of occultism which were to find a practical form in the events of the French Revolution." Nowhere does he define those "principles of occultism," and, in his efforts to associate Count Cagliostro with the revolutionary movement "which was agitating for the alteration of the existing social system in Europe," Mr. Harrison is led into a strange contradiction. At p. 156 he confesses to agreement with Mr. Trowbridge that, in spite of his vanity, Cagliostro "was animated by a genuine enthusiasm for the cause of humanity," whereas at p. 163 we find that he does not think we can admit "without stronger proof than at present we possess that Cagliostro desired to regenerate more of mankind than was represented by Seraphina and himself." Of the relations of husband and wife, and of both to the social world in which they moved, the author is content to repeat the most scurrilous stories of the day.

Cagliostro was arrested by the Holy Office in Rome on September 27, 1789, and, on April 7, 1791, was found guilty of heresy, his sentence of death being commuted to imprisonment for life. At this point, Mr. Harrison assails the foundations of his own biography when he points out that "in order that the inevitable verdict should not scandalize the more liberal elements of Christian society, the Holy Office anticipated Herr Himmler's methods in blackening the character of the accused." Cagliostro

is said to have died in prison ; but, in fact, his disappearance is still a mystery that awaits solution. One cannot help thinking of his life in conjunction with the words which expressed his feelings when he left England after much persecution :—

> The injustices I had experienced rendered me unjust to myself, and, attributing to the whole nation the faults of a few individuals, I determined to leave a place in which I had found neither laws, justice nor hospitality.

Long ago, Mme. Blavatsky suggested that Cagliostro had been untrue to his vows in some respects, and had yielded to ambition and selfishness. That may well be true, and while Mr. Harrison has written for readers who like that kind of thing an entertaining piece of eighteenth-century gossip, the real history of Cagliostro yet remains to be revealed.

B. P. H.

Writers in Freedom : A Symposium Based on the XVII International Congress of the P. E. N. Club. Edited by HERMON OULD. (Hutchinson and Co., London. 8*s.* 6*d.*)

But for the war the Seventeenth International Congress of the P. E. N. Club would have been held in India, and this book might have contained the names of many Indian speakers instead of only one. However, under the existing circumstances early in 1941 London seemed the necessary centre, even though arranging the meeting at all at that time for the following September was very much an act of faith, a breathing defiance in the cannon's mouth, though also, as one Free French speaker declared, "a striking demonstration to the whole world that the spirit remains free though the battle rages." Men and women of many nationalities were present, to listen and to speak, and of the speeches some thirty-odd are here partially reported at very various lengths—8 British, 5 German, 3 Spanish, 3 French, 2 Czech, 2 American, 1 Chinese, and so on.

The Congress's main theme was supposed to be "Literature and the World After the War," but though some spoke to the subject others quickly escaped through its very broad windows to wander where they would, with often individually interesting but as a whole rather incoherent results, the volume turning out to be not much more than a bundle of fragmentary confessions of literary or sometimes social faiths and hopes tied together by the accident of a single platform. Storm Jameson made it a major duty of the writer to remind governments and the like that the real unit of value is the human one. J. B. Priestley saw humanity turning to writers as guides, philosophers and friends. A Polish author felt himself and his kind to have lost all influence with the wider world. Rebecca West elevated the artist as the interpreter of deeper than conscious truths, while John Dos Passos would have him set to for the good of the commonwealth, and let literature look after itself. S. de Madariaga also thought writers should go into politics, but not least to give life and substance to their art, but Denis Saurat recoiled to give the Rebecca West outlook another twist, calling on writers to "build up religion through education of the masses." Arthur Koestler swayed between the dangers of the writer closing his study window on the world, and of falling right out of it. E. M. Forster

would keep the writer "a bit of an outsider." Olaf Stapledon would have him interpret mankind to men, but recognised the artist's peculiar difficulties in transcending the local—perhaps rather undervaluing his special gift for just that ascent. French writers spoke of France yesterday and today, German writers of Germany yesterday and tomorrow. A Norwegian representative denied the real existence of Europe as an entity apart from Asia; others took just that dichotomy completely for granted. There was an artillery duel, with rather wild fire, on propaganda, and some sustained sniping over the absent body of the "man of good will," Jules Romains. Peter von Mendelssohn spoke brilliantly of the lot of the refugee or *émigré* writer, but Mulk Raj Anand raised for India the voice rather of a political nationalist than an artist, and one more aware of grievances than difficulties. To describe India as "today a self-conscious modern young nation, an organic whole, a unity," will surely seem to many, even many Indians, to speak ahead of the realities.

But if a book of scraps, it is, at its best, a book also of essences.

GEOFFREY WEST

Design and Purpose. By FREDERIC WOOD JONES, D. SC., F. R. S., F. R. C. S. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., London. 5*s.*)

The 1941 Purser Lecture at Trinity College, Dublin, has been expanded by Professor Wood Jones into a confession of his convictions of the design and purpose of life.

He sees today three trends—the negation of despair, a legacy from the crass materialism of the Haeckel-Huxley school of thought, secondly, the stultifying absurdities of theological dogmas. And lastly, and more hopefully, the searchings of scientists in various fields for a truer perspective of life as a whole.

This is nothing new, for, looking back to the "natural philosophers" of the early nineteenth century, and further yet to the "pagan" philosophers, Plato, Aristotle, Democritus, Lao-Tzu, he sees in all a striving towards the vision of Universal Mind working in and through all things with order and purpose—a concept of a way of life trod by all beings, with no break of continuity in the evolution of "non-living" and "living" creatures.

Here in little is a tonic of hope for those too much aware of the apparent disharmonies of life. It is also, for the Theosophical student, a picture of how far the prophecies of H. P. Blavatsky in 1888 about the approach of twentieth-century science to the Esoteric Philosophy have been fulfilled.

E. W.

The English Regional Novel. By PHYLLIS BENTLEY. (P. E. N. Books, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 2*s.*) Here is a thoroughly readable if necessarily brief account of the English regional novel from Emily Brontë to the author of this booklet herself. The large number of twentieth-century writers, as well as the space-limits, accounts for the bare hurried mention which individuals get. The novel which particularises its setting and confines its story and all its ingredients to one locality has developed considerably through George Eliot, Hardy and Bennett to writers like Sheila Kaye-Smith or Mary Webb. The author believes that the English regional novel has celebrated almost every yard of English soil and has achieved enough in quality and quantity to merit discussion as an art form. And yet—the aspect of life which the novelist illuminates is far more important than the setting, however truthfully delineated.

V.

ENDS AND SAYINGS

"_____ ends of verse
And sayings of philosophers."
HUDIBRAS

The traditional Indian ideal of social service, as personal service rendered naturally by women, as leisure and opportunity permitted, to family, neighbours and others in ever-widening circles, was well brought out by Shrimati Maneklal Premchand in the September 1942 *Bulletin* of the National Council of Women in India.

As long as this type of service was available, every village or town looked after its own needy members and hence the need for organised social institutions was not felt.

None can fail to recognise in this the ideal, when personal interest in the needs of others and personal efforts on their behalf obviated organised charity with its paid workers and its red tape. Service freely rendered out of human fellow-feeling may be less technically efficient than that which the trained social servant can render; but which arouse more genuine gratitude, the ministrations of the sympathetic neighbour or the bounty of the "hireling shepherd, whose own the sheep are not," paid by the same great charitable trust whose funds he dispenses?

This is not to minimise the efforts of such an institution as the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, whose *Report for 1940-1942* we have before us. By all means let social workers be educated to help people to help themselves, but social work in the West has not been such an unqualified success that application of its modern technique to India can be looked to confidently for the solution of all our problems. Good works there must be under present conditions if the spirit of brotherhood is not to die out altogether, but without wisdom good works may and often do bring about more harm than good. And training in social service unfortunately does not insure wisdom! Dire have been the results sometimes of well-meant interference in the lives of others by social workers trained on the most modern lines. Moreover, poulticing superficial eruptions cures no deep-seated ill.

We decry no well-considered efforts to ameliorate conditions, provided their effect will be to foster human brotherhood and to minimise the glaring inequalities and injustices which deny it in practice. But we do deplore the notion that a facile cheque wipes off the individual's obligations to his fellow-men, any more than a dole relieves the State of blame for widespread unemployment.

Society has a direct responsibility for the economic conditions which make so much charity necessary. The many women's organisations to which Shrimati Maneklal Premchand refers can render no more useful service than in directing public attention to the need for economic and social justice; and in arousing the feeling of individual responsibility for doing what one can to relieve the suffering which comes under Karma to one's personal knowledge.

We are in hearty sympathy with the writer's strictures on institutions' restricting their service to particular communities. The highest type of service draws no distinctions of race, creed, caste, sex or condition.

The varied items of information contained in *News from the East and West Association* of June 10th is evidence of the increasing interest which the West—particularly the U. S. A.—is evincing in Oriental affairs. The East and West Association of New York City, with Pearl S. Buck as its president, devotes itself to mutual knowledge and understanding of the life of the Oriental and American peoples. The Club Bureau of the Association is reported to be "preparing study programmes about life in China, India and other Asiatic countries." The General Education Committee of the Association, at its first meeting in New York on 27th May, accepted the inclusion of Eastern cultural studies in college courses as a specific aim. A special course on "The Pacific and Greater East Asia" was announced for 6th July to 21st August, at Teacher's College, Columbia University. Under the auspices of the Association and of the India League of America, an exhibition of the sculpture of Greater India, including the India-derived Khmer art of Thailand was arranged.

The same bulletin announces the availability from the New York office of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, of broadcastings in its "Spotlight on Asia" series. One wonders who has given the broadcast on India in that series, or if indeed there was any. A number of subjects are listed but none on India. Can our subcontinent have been overlooked? Or did discretion suggest silence? At least the Vermont Unit of the East and West Association included India in its summer programme and in Boston on April 28th over 3,000 persons heard addresses on "India and China in the Present Crisis."

Leaving aside the intriguing questions whether the American Council's broadcast series included India, and, if not, why not, all this activity is surely indicative of the urge in some Western minds to attempt to understand the East. But it needs to be stressed that mere interest or understanding is not enough. These will be unproductive and futile if they merely satisfy a passing academic curiosity. Civilisation today, it is said, is in the melting-pot. Much is promised for the morrow out of the unhappy present. When nations more advanced in the race of material progress are moved to take an interest in the life of others, not less cultured but held back for diverse reasons, they are accepting a responsibility—in the real sense altruistic—to influence world opinion on their behalf. Unless this study and appreciation of Eastern life and culture and this emphasis on mutual good-will can be directed to ensuring justice to every branch of the human family, they will not have served their purpose. Informed opinion, purposeful interest and sympathetic understanding can make bodies like the East and West Association, not centres of academic discussion merely, but potential powers in the shaping of the world of tomorrow.

The war has brought the East and the West nearer to one another, from one point of view. Nothing can be so helpful as mutual understanding and sympathy for avoiding the repetition

of the present disaster, but Western nations have to learn one fundamental lesson, *viz.*, to give up their arrogant attitude as a superior race, labouring in Asia for the good of Asiatic people. This implies their recognition that in the past they have exploited Asiatic colonies to the detriment of the children of Asia. That exploitation will have to cease if Europeans desire to forge bonds of real friendship with the Asiatics. Combating the suggestion that "all the work achieved during a long and often happy collaboration between the European and Asiatic peoples had been lost irretrievably and that such collaboration could never be restored" as a "dangerous fallacy," Dr. H. J. van Mook, Netherlands Minister for the Colonies, writes on "The Position of Europe in Asia" in the July 1942 issue of *The Asiatic Review* and observes :—

> If we fight for decency and understanding in the relations between peoples, and for that concept of liberty in which personal freedom is harmoniously welded with social and national obligations, it would be criminal to consider that cause as lost with regard to Asia because one misguided Asiatic people succeeded in its first attacks. And I am convinced that—though the victory of our common cause must, of course, be won—the European and American prestige does not and will not rest on the force of arms alone.

This is a helpful admission. European powers have been shown that an Asiatic Power can beat the mightiest of them at their own game of machine-gunning, air bombing and submarining. European nations have yet to learn that martial strength has not taken them far on the path of progress. Force of arms may impose or perpetuate slavery but after this it will take more than superior ammunition, more even than superficial suavity and absence of pigmentation, to command respect. There must grow a spirit of friendship founded upon mutual trust and respect.

The recent press release of the Secretary-General of the League of Red Cross Societies at Geneva on "The Economics of Medicine," reproduced in *The Mysore Economic Journal* for September, brings together valuable data. Empiric medicine, he points out with copious illustrations, dates from long before the Christian era. "We find it among the Chinese, Indians, and peoples of the Near East, as a sum total of ideas which we still profit by."

> Five thousand years ago, medicine was as we would have it to-day, logical, free from witchcraft and arbitrary doctrines. The Edwin Smith papyrus, inscribed sixteen centuries before Jesus Christ, reproduces texts in a language, long since fallen into disuse, dating from before the Pyramid age. This document is a systematic treatise on surgical affections, arranged according to their localization, from the head to the inferior part of the body; for each of these affections there is set forth, as in a modern manual, always in the same order, a description of the lesion, the method of examination to be employed, a list of the symptoms, the prognostic, the treatment, and criticisms.

In India, where the need for more adequate medical service to the impoverished millions is so acute at the present day, Governmental public health activities are traditional. "The rulers established hospitals, from the fifth century B. C.; in the second century, the kings of Ceylon appointed district physicians, at the rate of one doctor for every ten villages."

Not one single medical doctrine, the Secretary-General declares, has been built up since that is not based upon the elements of therapeutics as practised in Babylonia, Egypt, China, India,

Arabia, Judæa. Medical knowledge suffered a long obscuration when medicine came "to be dominated by systems, theories, dogmas." The objective viewpoint has been only gradually coming into its own with the comparatively recent triumph of ancient methods. The professional neglect of the general population a few centuries ago coincided with a situation which Indian practitioners of the indigenous medical systems will not be slow to recognise :—

> The Medical Faculty and Colleges were engrossed for the most part in forbidding graduates of other universities, surgeons, and apothecaries to practise.

The appeal of the Secretary-General for bringing medical aid within the reach of the masses everywhere deserves a more effective general response than, we fear, it will receive. It is the fundamental unity of the human family which logically makes the welfare of each unit the concern of the whole. A humanitarian appeal at a time when men have deliberately steeled their hearts for the grim undertaking of war might well fall on deaf ears. How expect Governments committed to the destruction and maiming of human bodies on the grand scale to turn serious attention to the preservation of other bodies not directly related to that activity? The Secretary-General fortunately, however, has another string to his bow and bases his appeal in part on economic considerations which may command a hearing above the roar of battle. He urges that the efficacy of present-day medicine to cure in many cases, as well as to relieve,

> confers upon it an important economic rôle: the preservation and improvement of human life. It is therefore in the name of economy, as well as in that of wider social conceptions, that today the best possible medical care is demanded for the entire population.

MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

In the death on the 26th of June of the eminent Buddhist scholar Mrs. Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, at the age of eighty-four years, THE ARYAN PATH loses an old and valued contributor. The last study which she sent us, "The Man and the Word," we shall be publishing in an early issue.

Surviving by twenty years her famous husband, already in the eighties of last century acclaimed as the greatest Pali and Buddhist scholar of the day, she has carried on tirelessly the work to which he gave his best years. The West's intellectual appreciation of Buddhism is the greater for her efforts. Mrs. Rhys Davids was the author of numerous books as well as the editor of many Buddhist works. She had served since 1923 as President of the Pali Text Society which her husband founded and which has numerous scholarly achievements to its credit.